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CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

Challenge To Youth

⌈ A SYMPOSIUM OF MESSAGES OF THE GREAT ⌋
⌈ PERSONALITIES TO THE INDIAN YOUTH ⌋

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Except truth I have neither found nor seen
anything in this world.

—*M. K. Gandhi*

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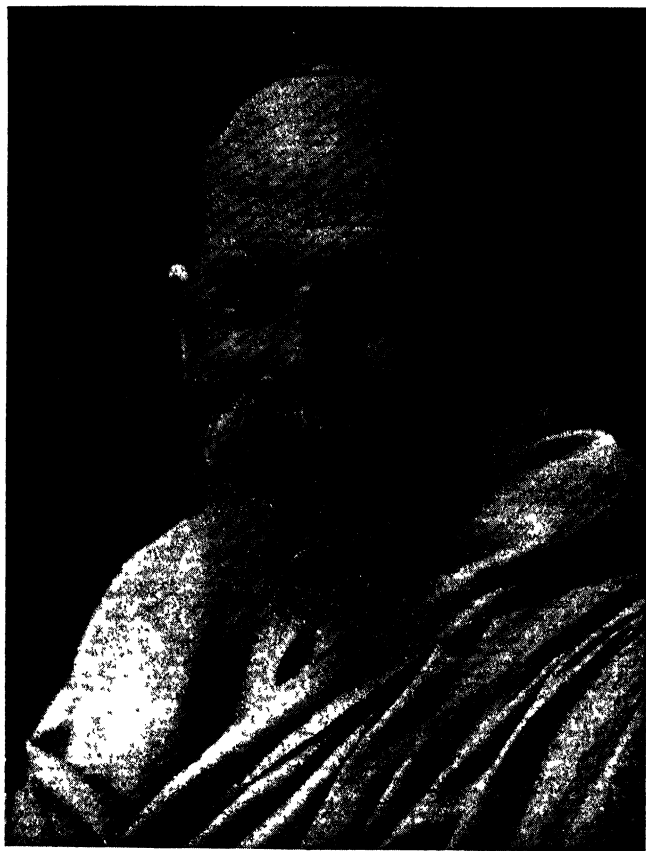
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Deenabandhu Andrews

IN MEMORIAM

“There is no greater friend of Indian Students and Indian aspirations than Rev. C. F. Andrews !”

—*Gokhale*

“Charlie Andrews is a man of prayer and deep faith. He is a Christian to the marrow, but his Christ is not the Jesus Christ of a narrow sect. His Christ is the Anointed of humanity. He sees him in Ramakrishna, Chaitanya, and many other Teachers, whom I can name, and who are of other faiths. We in India, who know him, call him Deenabandhu, Friend of the Afflicted. Our friendship is of long standing; we are like blood-brothers. There are no secrets between us. Charlie is simple as a child, forgiving and generous to a fault. He is loving and lovable, like a woman who is purity personified. In jest, I call him half woman and half man—*But* I mean it.”

—*Mohandas Gandhi*

“The gift of Mr Andrews’ dedicated spirit

in the cause of humanity will remain for ever. Death cannot destroy nor time take away the merit of his selfless sacrifice.....This large humanitarian spirit imbibed from Christ's religion of love made him a true Christian. In no one man have I seen such triumph of Christianity. I was fortunate in having him for an intimate friend. There are people bound to us by ties of necessity whom we can replace, but his is an irreparable loss."

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

"I, for one, have seen in him one who seemed to me, to reveal as very few do the character of the Master whom he sought to love and serve. If all of us Europeans had lived as near to Christ as Charlie Andrews, we too should have won the same unstinted affection that is his meed".

—*Foss Westcott*

Such was C. F. Andrews whom India delighted to honour as one of her own distinguished sons. And to his fragrant memory I dedicate this anthology in affection and gratitude.

To India C. F. Andrews was bound by ties of boundless love. He understood our country more than any other countryman of his. India

was the land of his choice. And he proved a good son of India because he was a good son of England. Even on his sick-bed his first and last care was India. When Mahatma Gandhi visited him in Calcutta C. F. A. said these touching words: "But Bapu! Swaraj is coming. I see it coming. India will be free."

I had the privilege of knowing Deenabandhu intimately. At Santiniketan and at other places I had the opportunity of close association with him. His industry was remarkable. He worked day and night, even against the most insistent medical advice. If ever any man knew the meaning of sacrifice, it was C. F. Andrews. His life was dedicated to the cause of the "poor, the lowliest and the lost" in all parts of the world. He was truly Christ's Faithful Apostle. It was Deenabandhu's greatness that he cared more for truth than for theology. As Bishop Whateley said: "It makes all the difference in the world whether we put Truth in the first place or in the second place". C. F. Andrews' truthfulness coupled with his childlike simplicity, was the secret of the tremendous influence he exercised on all those who came into contact with him.

I shall close with a personal note. Deenabandhu once told me at Santiniketan: "Madhavendra,

my home is your home, you can come here with pleasure when you please.” I shall never forget these most affectionate words of his. They will ever inspire me.

It was at his feet that I learnt a new value of life. From him I realised the noble lesson of universal love.

The debt of gratitude to him is so great that I know not how to acknowledge it, much less to repay it.

“Only I have left to say, more is thy due, more than all can pay.”

—*Madhavendra P. N. Singh*

FOREWORD

Kunwar Madhavendra Singh has procured a number of essays and reflections from some of the leading men of India and the world outside on the important theme of the duties and responsibilities of youth. The young men of this country must be thankful to the editor for his labour of love and his concern for their welfare.

Youth is a time of unfulfilled desires, of unachieved ambitions. Faced by a bewildering situation and uncertain of their duties, young men seek for direction and guidance. They are full of energy, discontent and idealism but are not certain about the ends to which these explosive forces are to be directed. Unfortunately by means of education which starts from the nurseries, we are not trained to become wholesome agents for life and peace, practising the natural graces of body and mind but are perverted into slaves of a machine. Education has become propaganda, to train, mould and narrow the mind, which is today in chains, chains forged by our political and social system.

We are led to believe that we are growing morally as service of the nation—state requires from us the qualities of loyalty, obedience, courage, patience in suffering and self-sacrifice. But these are qualities which even slaves and gangsters possess. A born slave is as ready to die and kill, to burn, swindle and steal as much as a patriotic soldier. These narrow group loyalties have made this earth into a human shambles. We must not give our loyalties to anything less than the highest. Loyalty to oneself and the world, truth and compassion, *satya* and *ahimsa* are the highest virtues. The great religions of the world proclaim the two cardinal truths of the sanctity of the individual soul and the solidarity of the human race.

In our schools and colleges we must hold up the ideal of the fearless pursuit and expression of truth. It is the very breath of science and scholarship. Respect for the dignity of the human mind is the essence of civilized life. We are said to be reasonable beings. If so our minds must be flexible. Those who are acquainted with the working of student bodies, debating societies, college unions, university parliaments and federations know how our young men are becoming more and more rigid in their minds. They enrol themselves in groups

and do not have any doubts that their premises may be wrong. They are ready to impute moral turpitude to those who differ from them. A recognition that we may be mistaken and our opponent may be right is the first principle of social justice and good manners. But we are overborne by phrases, yield to the threats of a few people who know how to bully and cajole by turns and express opinions which are more extreme than representative. We are ready to use any means to counter an argument or crush an adversary. To develop such an inflexibility of mind is contrary to the spirit of youth. When the Egyptian priest complimented the Greeks on being young, he referred to the qualities of curiosity and inquiry, openness, elasticity and adventure of mind and if we do not possess them to some degree, we are not young.

In a civilisation which cannot provide even security of life, we are growing sick of spirit and the youth is keen on inaugurating a new era. But a new world cannot be conjured into existence. It can be achieved only if you and I become new. The true nature of a human being is measured by the extent to which he has liberated himself from self. It will not do, if we are liberated only from personal egotism. We require today freedom not

only from personal selfishness but from natural, communal and racial egotism. We must awaken to a sense of solidarity which does not stop at frontiers. We must develop world loyalty. The fate of the human race depends on its moral strength. Those who wish to bring about a new order can do so only through renunciation and self limitation in every sphere of life.

Calcutta
22-9-1940

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

INTRODUCTION

There is a passage in Epictetus: "What place shall I have in the State?—Whatever place thou art able to hold, whilst keeping at the same time good faith and modesty. And if in thy wish to benefit thy country thou lose these, what advantage wouldst thou be to her, ending without modesty and without faith?" These are the two qualities that still need to be stressed, modesty and faith; these two are fast tending to disappear; these are necessary today as in the past; and every true well-wisher of the youth of the country will feel how urgent is the need of modesty and faith. Too often have the heads of the young been turned by the exaggerated tributes of men who should know better; too often have they been led to believe that they alone count, that they alone are the repositories of knowledge and wisdom that they and none else, can improve the universe. The heady wine of praise and flattery not unnaturally disturbs their balance; they begin to look upon elderly men as so much encumbrance and superfluous matter that

has no justification or even excuse for continued existence. The young alone matter. The young matter, certainly; but it is no service to the community to delude the young with the utterly false notion that they are already fit to direct the destinies of the country. That way lies destruction. Tolstoy uttered a word of sovereign wisdom when he said; "There is only one way of serving mankind, and that by becoming better yourself." There is no stage in a man's career—much less during the days of youth—when he can rest contented with the thought that he has reached his zenith, that he has nothing more to learn, that all the development of which he is capable has been achieved. Wisdom comes with years, but even knowledge comes bit by bit, through laborious search, and after many a weary step. It does not come of itself; we must still be seeking. Even the young need knowledge, though wisdom may be despised. And as you seek knowledge and acquire it you realise also how little you know, how much there is to know. This consciousness—which can dawn only if you have some knowledge—will make you modest. You will cure yourself of arrogance.

You can achieve anything in a spirit of faith. It is sickening and depressing to see a young man

in a mood of disillusionment. Youth is the period of ideals and visions. Youth is the time when one thinks of remoulding the world nearer to the heart's desire. Then it seems no miracle to hear the mysterious sound which enkindles the world on its way. Then the soul does not need to repress its music. Men are then the nurslings of immortality. Then youth has belief in its powers, enthusiasm for its cause, burning faith in the vision splendid by which he is on his way attended. Without faith, a people perishes. The young man must have the fullest trust that he can achieve much, that his country and his nation is worth working for, and that to make his country good and great and powerful, he must himself be good and great and powerful.

There are no short cuts to real progress, whether for the individual or the community. Many a weary step is necessary before it can be achieved. Nor is it any use telling the young that the past can be wiped as though it has had no existence. We must guard the young against an attitude that may lead them to toss about, subvert, and tear to pieces, "as if it were in the gambols of boyish unluckiness and malice, the most established rights, and the most ancient and most revered

institutions of ages and nations.” They cannot expect a clean slate. They are not merely the creators of the future, but also the creatures of the past. What generations of men have wrought, what mankind has done through the centuries, the laws and traditions, customs and institutions that are the results of the collective wisdom of ages, cannot all be wiped away as though of no moment. That is why I think that they are no friends of progress who keep repeating that students should develop a revolutionary mentality and revolutionary temperament and that they should study only such things as will help them in that respect. One can have no patience with advice such as this. Revolution for the sake of revolution; surely never was a more pernicious doctrine preached. Revolution for the sake of some immediate objective not capable of attainment through normal peaceful means, one can understand, sympathise with, encourage, even actively assist. But there must be something perverted, crude, and savage in the person who preaches the virtues of revolution as revolution. The ultimate end of existence must be happiness. Shanti; peace; goodwill;—these alone lead to happiness. It is in moments of peace and harmony that joy comes. The young must be

taught to have as many occasions for joy as may be possible. Of course they will have moments of doubt and despondency; they will experience pain and sorrow; they cannot escape moods of dejection; the cup of life is not all sweet. But it is possible to see, underneath all this, a ray of sunshine, to hear notes of gladness, and to feel that the world is pleasant. It should be the aim of education to make one responsive to the good that there is in the world, to recognise the essential nobility of human nature, to aspire to the good, the true, and the beautiful. That art, that political philosophy, that educational theory is vicious that concentrates only on the ugly and sordid and harsh aspects of life. Without permitting these to be ignored and overlooked, the educator should encourage a proper sense of proportion, the even-balanced soul, the aspiration for joy that comes through harmony.

A student must of course *study*; else he ceases to be a student. And he must study as many subjects as he has time for. He must study them from many points of view. Then he will realise that to every question there are several answers, that truth is many-sided, and that those who disagree with him are not necessarily ignorant and vile and

‘unprogressive’. Then he will cease to be narrow in his outlook and be tolerant and forgiving. Then he will gradually, slowly, form his own conclusions, thinking for himself, not allowing others to take charge of him.

One further point I should like to stress. Unless I am very greatly mistaken, the main distinction between the culture of India and that of the West is that here the emphasis is constantly on Duty and in the West on Right. I believe in Sanskrit there is no exact equivalent for the word Right in the political sense; neither Svatva nor Adhikar expresses the meaning. We always read of Dharma. Each one should ‘do his duty; the King and the subjects; the teachers and the students; the employer and the employee; the parents and the children. In the process of the performance of duty, every one’s rights are automatically safeguarded. But while they are so preserved, the mental attitude of the people is such that they are constantly fitting themselves for the proper performance of their duties and not arming themselves for the realisation of their rights. This is the keynote of Indian civilisation, and I should like to draw the pointed attention of Indian youth to this.

In the pages that follow respected leaders whose

words deserve to be pondered over have expressed themselves in different ways. Each one has something of value to say. But all are agreed that the main business of the young is to make themselves fit for the life before them. They should have noble aims and prepare themselves for their realisation. That is not easy.

“Does the road wind uphill, all the way ?”

Yes, to the very end.

“Does the day’s journey take the whole long day ?”

From morn to night, my friend.

But the journey’s end, when attained, will bring the supreme satisfaction that they swerved in nothing and brought perfection to something.

May 31, 1940

AMARANATHA JHA

PREFACE

For some years, events in the world have been moving so rapidly that it is very difficult to keep pace with them, unless an individual is conscious of his or her duty and responsibility. Our country is in the grip of a momentous change—and a very big change indeed. How truly has Dr Stanley E. Jones summed up the difficulties of Indian youths in the following words: “The youths of India are being called on to deal with the five revolutions at once, namely, the intellectual, the social, the economic, the political, the moral and the spiritual.” In this state of affairs students are naturally apt to lose themselves in the labyrinth of serious problems. The young today find themselves on the horns of a dilemma, knowing not what to do.

The aim of bringing out this little anthology is to help the youth of the country to form an idea of their responsibilities which lie on their shoulders at such a critical time. Secondly, students have also very great obligations towards their motherland. As Prof. Harold J. Laski says, “My own

feeling is the strong one that students in Indian universities, as a specially privileged class, have the obligation to do anything they can to assist in the political and social emancipation of India."

C. R. Das put more responsibilities upon the shoulders of the youth, "The students are at once the hope and glory of motherland. They are the torch-bearers on the road to freedom. They are the pilgrims on the road to liberty." Being charged with such overwhelming responsibility, they have a larger share than any other class to contribute to the growth and prosperity of the nation. Unless and until, they know fully their own quota and how best to offer that, they will not be able to fulfil their obligations to their country in the fullest measure.

With this end in view I have endeavoured to collect the opinions of some important figures of the world. And my efforts will be amply rewarded if this anthology helps the students, even a few of them, in understanding the manifold questions and problems weighing heavily on their minds.

The disturbed conditions of the world—the terrible war in the West as well as in the East—have made my task much difficult. Due to this it was not possible to approach all those persons who

would have been glad to send their considered thoughts for the benefit of the students. I wanted to present my readers with a fuller collection. But I only hope that they will realise my difficulties and be content with this small booklet.

In conclusion I have to thank my friends and well-wishers for the invaluable help they gave me in my work. Without the constant advice and encouragement of Deenabandhu Andrews I could not have dared to take up the work of which I have no experience.

To Sir S. Radhakrishnan I am most grateful for his having kindly associated his great name with this effort of mine by writing the foreword to the book. It is indeed a great privilege to have the foreword by no less a personage than Prof. Radhakrishnan, a man of international repute, "whose mission and message as philosopher and teacher have won for him the sobriquet of India's cultural and spiritual ambassador" to the West.

I offer my humble thanks to Pandit Amaranatha Jha who has added much to the worth of this anthology by writing the valuable introduction. He helped me a great deal with his experience of men and affairs. To him I express my profound gratefulness for the

deep interest he has taken in this small publication.

I am much grateful to Prof. R. D. Ranade, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Allahabad University, Prof. S. K. Rudra, Head of the Economics Department, Allahabad University, Dr C.H. Rice, President, Allahabad Christian College, Dr Dharendra Verma, Head of the Hindi Department, Dr B. B. Malvea, Officiating Principal, Ewing Christian College, Dr Miss B. Thungamma, M.L.A., Benares, Prof. Gurdail Mullik, Santiniketan and my relation Syt Ajita Prasad Singh of Benares, who have helped me. My thanks are also due to Syt Nandlal Bose for the beautiful and deeply expressive cover design which he made out for me at great personal inconvenience.

I am very grateful indeed to my friend Mr S. R. Bharatya, Organising Secretary, All India Seva Samiti, who has very kindly read the proof of the book. Apart from this he has helped me in other ways as well.

My affectionate friend Shree Narendra Singh has lessened my burden by his constant and lavish help. Without his help it would not have been possible for me to complete my work.

I also thank Syt U. S. Verma, Pandit Ram Lakhan Shukla and Mr N. N. Ghosh of the

Ewing Christian College; my friend Shree Baijnath Chaturvedi and my younger brother Mukund Madhava P. N. Singh.

Finally I extend my cordial thanks to all the contributors who took the trouble to send the valuable contributions for the anthology. Without their ready and valuable cooperation the collection could never have been possible. The contributions are arranged in alphabetical order.

MADHAVENDRA P. N. SINGH

Baraon Kothi
Allahabad

I

C. F. ANDREWS

The questions, which are facing the Indian students today, are the same that confront students in every age: but the times through which we are passing are more critical than any which have gone before. Therefore the questions themselves carry an urgency with them, which demands an immediate answer.

First of all, there is no more important and necessary duty for a student in these critical times, than that of self preparation for his future work. In the universities, a singular freedom is given, which takes us beyond the routine of the school stage. Apart from attending a certain number of lectures, our time is our own. We may waste it; or we may spend it to a good purpose. Never before and perhaps never again, will most of us have such unlimited freedom. There is a danger in this freedom; but youth loves danger; and I would not wish the danger to be taken out of the

way. For we can learn freely to fashion our own wills, and also freely to find out by experiment where our true instincts guide us and our true tastes lie. Even in the subjects we study, we shall make our own choice after consulting others about it.

When asked the other day to give a message at Nagpur to Indian students, I ventured to sum up every thing in two words, 'Fearless Thinking'. What I meant was, that the students should think for themselves and not merely follow the crowd. In many countries, today, the effort is being made to control the thoughts of students. What are called 'dangerous thoughts' have to be excluded from the curriculum. From my own point of view, this itself is a most harmful process—something like shutting up the safety valve of a steam engine. For, to shut up 'thoughts' is the way to produce an explosion.

Those students, who practise 'Fearless Thinking', may often find themselves alone. They may have to stand out against the popular cry of the moment. They may find, as I did, that new scientific thoughts had made untenable some parts of their own religious belief. They may feel, as I did, that they cannot sincerely go on following certain social customs. In these and other cases,

the one test that they will apply to the new thoughts that come to them, is not whether they are popular, but whether they are true.

The university should be the place where this test can be applied. The freedom of choice, about which I have written, ought to cover not merely our studies but our thoughts and actions. We shall be in the company of trained thinkers. Some of our fellow students, who have advanced further than we have, will be our friends. Some of the professors will be our friends also. We can discuss with them, as we can never discuss so well anywhere else in the world, our difficulties. We can also talk over with them, how far we may be called upon to make changes. The rapid 'give and take' of friendly conversation, as we compare notes with one another, is worth all the books in the world.

It will be noticed that I have gone one step further than my two words, 'Fearless Thinking', and have written also about 'Friendship'. Here lies probably the greatest value of all in our university career. We may get the highest possible degree, but fail miserably as students, if we have not made one true friend, either among the students or teachers. Knowledge itself only becomes fully assimilated, as it becomes a common

possession between ourselves and others. This, I believe is what Tennyson meant, when he wrote:

Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell.

For it is the reverence and respect for one another's personalities, which true love brings with it, that is the supreme pathway by which God brings knowledge to the heart and not merely to the head.

It will be asked further, 'How can I help my country, while I am a student?' My reply would be, by making every use of this golden opportunity for study, and not dissipating it through premature and immature action. The field of knowledge is so vast, and the value of knowledge is so great, that if we neglect, through our own choice, the one chance in our lives of steadily gaining knowledge at first hand in a living manner, we shall regret it even afterwards. We shall have failed in character; for, we shall have wasted our time, instead of saving it. We shall have also failed in knowledge; because we shall not have made the most of the opportunity of acquiring wisdom in the highest possible way,—through the golden gateway of friendship and kindly intercourse concerning the great themes of life and conduct.

One more word. Those who are university students are a specially favoured community. Out of the millions of Indians, only a few thousand are able to go through the whole university course. Only a few even of these are able to go on to the Mastership or Doctorate in Arts or Science. It is the supreme law of life, that, 'to whom much is given, of him shall much be required'. To put it in the form of another saying,—“Freely ye have received, freely give”.

We must not cut ourselves off from our poorer brethren, but do all we can to help them. We must if possible make our studies themselves turn towards the amelioration of suffering, poverty, and want. We must always remember that the highest gift that we can offer to our country is the abolition of some evil custom, by which the poor have been oppressed. If, in the spirit of love and truth, we can achieve that glorious object by our advance in knowledge, then our university course will not have been in vain.

II

GEORGE S. ARUNDALE

[*President, Theosophical Society*]

Part of the duty of young Indians is to support very clearly the nature of India's definite steps in the direction of fully responsible self-government. For my own part I feel there must be established a Commonwealth of India Bill, a Swadeshi Constitution, and that all parties ought to be moved to draft or nominate competent persons to draft such a constitution, so that India may say: this is to be our Swadeshi Constitution in the future instead of the foreign constitution we have at the present time. There must be drawn up a Charter of India's Liberties, a Magna Charta, as we might call it,—embodying the Commonwealth of India Bill and other salient features.

Indian young men should be eager to be trained in military service. It would help you all immensely. It would make an enormous difference to your physique and morale and your general

power to hold yourselves upright, free from any sense of inferiority complex.

All you can do individually and collectively to increase your efficiency the better. Get into the habit of speaking and writing. Never mind how futile it all seems. When you go to bed after giving a lecture, you will pass a sleepless night thinking what you ought to have said that you did not say, and how badly you said what you did say. But never mind. Keep practising.

I am anxious that young Indians should be full of life individually and collectively with a wise and substantial background of Theosophy for their guidance and illumination and with a willingness and eager to do anything that may be required.

We should try to do what we can to meet the urgent needs of the villagers. We must have more Bhajans and Harikathas for the village people.

Where there is ugliness or dirt, let it be removed.

Copy the manners of the most mannered persons you know. Do not always ask the professional speakers to talk to you, but ask the most delightful persons. Youth needs culture as much as age.

This is war, a war for freedom, for India's

freedom. If we go to sleep in these days, it will be a long time before we arouse ourselves. We cannot expect a war every quarter of a century. There may not be another war in your lifetime, hope for it though you may. This is an astonishing event. The last war proved not to be a war to end war. This war ought to be such a war. If youth all over the country takes the war seriously both for themselves, their countries and their world, there will not be another war.

You have a tremendous opportunity to help your Motherland. Plan, think and imagine ways of helping her.

Every one must do something. It is not enough to talk. It is not enough to write. We must plan what we can do to extract our surroundings from the war spirit. We have to think of these things. Let us not go on with our ordinary lives, reading our newspapers, attending to our family affairs, fulfilling our business duties, without feeling there is more for us to do, that the call to work is more insistent than it has been for a very long time. In very truth we should be all of us very active than we have been all these years, but we tend, of course, to sink into comparative lethargy.

Study has its value, but unless this is followed

up by action, we shall not enter into the spirit of the New Age.

This is an age for doing things, all the more since none of us are yet called to take an active part in the most expression of the War. Since we are not in that position, we have all the great responsibility to get rid of the war which has been in existence for ages in India, and which is one of the great reasons why India has not achieved her freedom. I am perfectly convinced that the world must remain in slavery until and unless India herself is free. One knows, occultly at least, that India is the heart of the world. The heart must beat in strength. We are the custodians, the guardians of the heart. What are we doing?

It does not matter what your views are, what kind of freedom you expect for India, you should be positive about something and throw your positiveness into the constructive melting-pot of India's aspirations. Please do not be sheep. It is very easy now-a-days to be sheep, to follow X. Y. Z. Do not follow a politician, follow a policy.

Britain is putting all her weight to win the war, but she must put her own house in order. She must render unto India that freedom of self-de-

termination which is India's inalienable heritage and urgent need today.

Let every Indian student everywhere seek to right wrong, striving first to make himself as right as he can, and then crusading—throughout his country—physically or otherwise—in the cause of Right, especially on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves and who are therefore subject to the tyranny of man.

You who are citizens of your country, at such a time as this, must give of your noblest and best, whatever it may be, even though it may not seem directly helpful to your country in such ways as entering into politics, speaking in public meetings, taking an active part in public life. At least you must give of your finest so as to lift the level of citizens in this land. Only by so lifting the level of citizens will India become free.

What does it matter to any one of us save that the spirit of service, the spirit of sacrifice, the spirit of self-discipline amidst all circumstances, the spirit of passionate love for India, shall incarnate in every one of us, let us hope by the forces that are slowly, by degrees, making for Indian righteousness, and for that power of righteousness that shall spread throughout the whole world.

In these days live above yourself. Make a sacrifice of your smaller conveniences and desires. Try now when the doors are wide open to lift yourselves into your finer selves, into proximity to that Godliness which is essentially yours from the beginning of time and which permeates you more and more as you live after life.

When there are great happenings in any country, then the opportunity comes to the enlightened citizen, young or old, man or woman, to dedicate himself to consecrate himself: first to his own Higher Self, to his own splendour which is somewhere waiting to be conquered.

Then to the peace and happiness and the prosperity of those around him, through whatever mode may be most sympathetic to his genius—the spirit of heroism, the spirit of saintliness, the spirit of power, the spirit of wisdom, all these great qualities which gave to the world her great men and women.

Some of you can give magnificent devotion, an unquenchable, unchangeable devotion that may be a great light upon India's ways.

Some of you can give some specific glory of genius, not necessarily in some great discovery

but in a wonderful way of communicating truth—the little truth or the greater truths, those truths which to you are most true. Some of you can live lives of action, going forth into the outer world and speaking your most honest word against any cacophonies from the unrighteous mobs.

Some of you can give greater art, greater music. Some of you can give perhaps real sacrifice and heroism.

I should not have to make a list of greatness. You ought to be feeling what is your note, your quality, the splendour which is you, but which for the moment perhaps lies hidden, so that you may get rid of all the darkness around it and let it shine upon your neighbours.

Leadership is your Dharma, it does not matter who you are. Your own leadership always reverently subordinated to Mother India and her needs, you place your lives in these days at her disposal, just as the young Britisher or the young Frenchman, the young Pole will go out to fight.

* * * * *

Now is the great opportunity, and I ask all of you to change yourselves, to break yourselves loose from any lethargy, to work as you have never worked before in terms of the great

need of the world—first, the world of India, but also of the whole world, so that with all the inhibitions and the fetters and the shackles of our lethargies broken into pieces we may be alive and alert again.

III

ERNEST BARKER

[*Cambridge University*]

It is hard for an Englishman who has only spent one month in India to give any advice to Indian students about their primary duty in their student days, about their attitude to their country and the position they ought to adopt in peace or war, or about their relations and obligations to their neighbours. If I knew India better I could give far better advice. As it is, I can only give such advice to Indian students as I should give to students—the students I really know—in my own country.

I should say that the primary duty of a student was the duty of study in the university—study which does not merely consist in attending lectures and receiving instructions, but also consists, and consists even more, in independent reading and thinking. I would add that next to this primary duty there comes the duty of social intercourse

with other students, and of discussion with them, in voluntary clubs and societies. Independent reading and thinking, backed by social intercourse and discussion, is the great way of development in our old English Universities and I believe that it is generally the best way of development for students.

In matters of politics I should feel clear that the university student ought to think, debate and discuss along with his fellow students, but that he should seldom and only under a compelling sense of civic duty, take part in political activity. My opinion has thus both a positive and a negative side. Positively, I feel that students must discuss politics, and will gain (as the students in the Oxford and Cambridge Universities and the various undergraduate clubs indubitably gain) by such discussion. Negatively, I feel that student's action in politics has dangers. I will only mention two. One is that political action is an absorbing thing, and distracts the student from his true vocation of study. The other is that when universities rush into politics, politics are sure to rush into the universities; in other words, if students seek to affect the course of politics, politicians will in their turn seek to affect and control students and studies. And

the intellectual freedom of a university is the greatest treasure which a university can cherish.

I should hold that the student has a social obligation to his neighbours, and especially to his poorer neighbours, which he is bound to discharge. He should give some time to living in a 'settlement' in the poorer quarters of a great town, or to living in a camp in summer among the unemployed, or, to working one night a week through the year in a boys' club. The student has, in some respects, a cloistered or sheltered life. All the more reason why he should go out into the world, in such time as he can spare from his studies, and mix with other sorts and conditions of men. The 'bookish' student, who does not know the world, is not going to be useful to the world. And yet the real purpose of his being at the university is that he should learn himself to be more useful to the world than he would otherwise have been.

Of the three main things I have endeavoured to say, I should emphasize particularly the first—the duty of independent study and thinking, and the duty of social intercourse and discussion with other students. Specially would I emphasize the duty of social intercourse and discussion. Students very largely educate one another—if and provided

that they keep in contact and intercourse with one another. Teachers play their part; let students themselves have a part to play, in the voluntary formation and the spontaneous running of their own student societies. I earnestly hope that Indian students will always remember to play their part.

IV

BHAGAVANDAS

Be clean, pure, healthy, in body and mind: be continent, be true Brahmacharis, avoid sex-looseness like poison; cultivate hardy habits; develop a good as well as strong character; learn the act of plain living and high thinking; do not try to be conceited, or flashy, or extravagant, in dress or speech or gesture or manner; foster a spirit of reverence and earnestness and openmindedness; realise that education is true education only when it enables the educated person to achieve happiness here and hereafter for himself, his family, his society, when it enables him to take care of himself, his dependents, his neighbours; understand that such education is possible only when the individual life and the social life are both duly planned and interwoven, when Educational Organisation and Economic Organisation are linked with each other, and Political or Protective Organisation protects all and Industrial Organisation subserves all. Until

there is such careful Planning and Organisation, the problems created by Un-education and Mis-Education on the one hand, and Un-Employment and Mis-Employment on the other hand, will never be solved. Haphazard, opportunist, temporising, short-sighted palliative devices will cause more misery than they will cure.

If you wish to know what the ancient Indian way of comprehensive systematic Planning and Organisation was, you have to read my books and other writings. The modern way of such Planning and Organisation is the Russian. Study both; compare carefully; decide for yourselves.

V

B. K. BHATE

[Director of Education, Baroda State]

The whole world is going today through a rapid change; time and distance practically form no obstacles to the inhabitants of this globe as they used to do formerly. Telephone, Telegraph, Television, Aeroplanes etc., influence the whole world to such an extent that man-made divisions of continents and countries are crumbling down and one is forced to regard oneself to be truly a 'Citizen of the world'.

No wonder then the old ideals of life should also change with the changing world. The modern student-world too cannot be an exception to this. It is not possible today for any nation to lead a life of isolation. Indian students, therefore, must learn to live their lives as social units. They must develop a spirit of common citizenship and must acquire a spirit of oneness through their sports and studies. They have to understand clearly how

they are linked with their fellows and must know the common ties that go to make life pleasant. Unless they develop a sense of partnership there is no chance for them to make any progress in the modern world. Their foremost duty is to be true to themselves, their parents, their country and God. Whatever they undertake to do, should be done with sincerity.

They should always be courageous and plucky even under most discouraging conditions. As youths they must form their visions and ought to be ambitious and adventurous. The youths of our country cannot afford to sit with folded hands, or with their feet on the fender, when the whole world is pulsating with stirring momentous changes.

In time of peace, they have to contribute towards intellectual, social and industrial development of their country and in trying to lift up the ignorant masses, and to remove tyrannies imposed on society in the name of caste, creed and colour.

In war times, their duties are equally clear. They have to take their place in active war intelligently either on the battle-field or at home. They have to organise plans and schemes that may bring peace earlier and soon achieve independence of the

mother-country.

It is one of the clearest duties of the students to educate the masses. It is impossible to live happily in the modern world, unless the teeming millions of our countrymen, who engulfed in deep darkness of ignorance, are properly educated. India has failed in the past in achieving its goal as no provision has been made to provide adequate education for illiterate masses. Indian students can do a lot in this direction in the spare time and during their periodical vacation. Let the Indian students go to the villages oftener and inspire confidence and faith in the hearts of poor villagers. At present there is often an unfortunate tendency on the part of our students to fight shy of the villagers. Let them not forget that salvation of India depends not on cities or towns so much as on the elevation of the villages. Let them create a feeling of oneness and solidarity among the masses.

Another thing which students have to understand is the various forces that are working to-day in different parts of the world. They must study democracy in its various aspects and phases and should apply them to India. Today the whole world is challenged by what is called Fascism.

Indian students have to be, therefore, on guard

and see that democratic ideals are maintained and developed by our country. In other words education that they may receive must be closely related to everyday life.

Spirit of universal brotherhood, international good-will and world fellowship should be cultivated by our students. World never stood in greater need of such a fellowship than it does today.

One point our students cannot set aside, I mean, our ancient ideal of plain living and high thinking. At present our hostels and boarding houses present a very woeful picture of students, with weak and shaky frames of body, indulging in all sorts of luxuries and living beyond means, having no power of enduring hardships or of facing privations in life. Life to them then becomes a veritable burden.

In conclusion I may say that they must cultivate true ideal of citizenship, *i.e.*, of democracy. They must know to make democracy a success. They must train their judgment and cultivate the formation of good temper and good habits.

They must understand their civic rights, *i.e.*, right of voting properly. They must acquire real qualities of true and instructed leadership, so essential in the coming days of democracy in India.

They, at the same time, cannot neglect their body. It would be a sin to do so. Body should be so developed that it can be a ready servant of the will and can do all the work with ease and grace. Present physical condition of our students is deplorable. They must form a habit of daily physical muscular exercise, systematically. They must love and respect their body.

They cannot neglect their intellect as well. They must know how to think clearly. Need for such a habit was never greater than today, when India is having popular forms of Government in various Provinces. They must cultivate their mind to love and appreciate beauties of "Nature" and "Art" also.

Before I finish, I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following passage of a modern writer which vividly explains what our students ought to know and ought to be:—

"To be able to learn and go on learning in all one's life; to be able to think and go on thinking in all one's life; to be willing to work, with the consciousness that it is work only that dignifies man, and to have mastered the art of living together, with all sorts and conditions of men, in a world that is rapidly shrinking—these four are the prime

qualifications for effective citizenship, for meeting the reasonable demands of society, and for the production of one who may style himself, without qualification, a human being.”

VI

GHANSHYAM DAS BIRLA

तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया ।

उपदेक्ष्यन्ति ते ज्ञानं ज्ञानिनस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥

—भगवद्गोता ४-३४.

“Learn thou this by discipleship, by investigation, and by service. The wise, the seers of the essence of things will instruct thee in wisdom.”

This is what Shri Krishna said to Arjun. The secret of learning lies in humility. When a disciple approaches the master in search of knowledge, the psychology of the former must needs be one of humbleness. The very fact that the pupil wants to learn pre-supposes that he has yet to know what the teacher already knows. By implication it is further assumed that the teacher knows the method of teaching better than the disciple. The disciple therefore submits to any discipline that may be imposed on him by the Guru. All this is done in the interest of the disciple. Where then is there any

room for ill feeling or squabbling between the teacher and the taught when such a psychology exists? The greatest drawback, defect or shortcoming that I have witnessed among the Indian students of the present day is lack of this spirit. They more often claim their so-called rights than think of discharging their own duties. "Are we not now grown enough to know clearly how, when, and by whom we should be taught? We do not like a certain professor. He should be cleared out of the college. The principal did not show sufficient respect towards us and so he should apologise. The college must be closed down on a certain day because such and such a leader is coming to our town. If the college is not closed down, we would strike".

Such sentiments I have often come across among the present day youth. They pause not to think that if they be the final arbiters, what would be left for the teacher? And if with such mentality of the student the results are not satisfactory, who but the student himself suffers? The first thing that is necessary for making a successful student is therefore humility and discipline, not cowardice, not servility but humility. Humility makes one conscious of one's limitations. One who does

not know his own limitations never learns.

Spirit of investigation is another virtue commended by Lord Krishna. A man who does not learn to go deep never learns. To go deep, one needs an unbiassed, open and receptive mind. One should have to get trained to see both sides of the picture. One cannot be dogmatic. It is not suggested that one should oscillate. A man who does not take a decision is like a boat without a rudder. But decision should be taken not on the basis of borrowed ideas and popular slogans but after deep thinking and investigation. Once a decision is taken, one should stick to it. Those who decide in a fit of emotion swayed by popular waves of thought drop their resolve when it calls for sacrifice. Those who decide after full thought stand like rocks, even if it be in opposition to the whole world. And lastly Lord Krishna preaches service. What is life but a duty allotted for service? A servant can never forget his duty. There are no airs about him. He is always ready to obey. But since he is servant by choice, not under compulsion, his obedience is not selfish. It is intelligent and voluntary.

Discipline, Search of knowledge and Service: these are the watchwords for a student.

VII

JULES BLOCH

[*Professor, College de France, France*]

The only advice I can give them* is to get themselves prepared to understand the true meaning of events, and for that purpose to cultivate their power of understanding while leisure is left to them to do so.

This answer I think to be the first and most fundamental of your questions and answers to it in accordance with the main teaching of the Gita, which is to do one's own duty. The duty of students is to study. Let them take advantage of the years left to them in enriching their mind in progressing as much as they can, not only in the branches of learning that are taught to them—and which are by no means despicable, but on the contrary, *most necessary*, but also in the knowledge of the world at large. This is the way to render themselves useful to their community and to the world,

* Students.

when the age of responsibilities will have come. There are many ways to serve; but in no case will ignorance bring anything save confusion and evil. And to those among young people who may think mainly in terms political, let me add : remember that the greatest politicians have been hard workers, scholars and cultivated men, whose ability and authority have depended as much on their intellectual attainments as to their devotion to the interests of the public.

VIII

S. A. BRELVI

[*Editor, the Bombay Chronicle, Bombay*]

We are living in stirring times. There is a revolutionary spirit abroad. Students of today, who will ultimately determine the shape of things to come tomorrow, have to prepare themselves for the great task. In India our first duty is to become an independent and self-respecting nation. The greatest obstacle in our way is lack of inter-communal unity. The students cannot better serve their country than by doing everything possible to promote inter-communal understanding. They must, again, have a clear conception of what they are going to do in a free India because political freedom is only a means to higher ends. Today we are all in the grip of an economic system under which man's personality is suppressed and his creative faculties are starved in all but a very few fortunate human beings. We must seek the release of humanity from the thralldom of economic forces

so that economic activity is relegated to its proper place as the servant and not the master of society. This release can be obtained only if the purpose of the industrial system is not profit for the few but the good of society as a whole.

IX

RAMANAND CHATTERJI

[*Editor, The Modern Review*]

The chief duty of students is to be prepared for the kind of life they may choose to lead after they have ceased to be students in the ordinary sense. I am not in favour of students taking active part in politics and becoming political agitators while they are still at school, college or university. They can learn enough of politics, as they ought to, without themselves being in the thick of the political struggle.

X

MAHADEV DÉSAI

[*Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi*]

It may take a poet like Shakespeare to “Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks and sermons in stones”, but even without being a poet one can find enough to learn from every one in God’s creation.

Dattatreya, who by having twenty-four Gurus—one of them being a dog—became the Guru of humanity has left an imperishable lesson for us.

Approach every one of God’s creation with reverence and every one will have some thing to teach you. The spirit in which to approach a teacher was summed up by the Gita in the verse तद्विधिं प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया—Attain knowledge by obeisance, repeated questioning and service. I welcome Kunwar Madhavendra Singh’s endeavour to gather knowledge for the student world from numerous gurus. What is essential, however, is

the wearing into one's life of what one has learnt. That is how Dattatreya became Guru Dattatreya. For my part I should feel blessed if I could assimilate and express into life the teaching of even one of the many gurus one is sure to find in life.

XI

N. R. DHAR

[Deputy Director of Public Instruction, U. P.]

I want young men of our country as well as of other countries to practise the doctrine of non-violence whole-heartedly, as humanity can build an edifice with a sure foundation based on non-violence and on nothing else. I have lived several years of my life in Europe and I have been enamoured of the good points in European civilisation but the tragedy of the whole thing is that they do not believe in non-violence as true Christians should. If the be all and end all of what we call progress is a terrific war then what is the justification of this European civilisation, which we are imitating blindly ?

The basic thing or the root of the whole affair is that human beings even now are guided by the biological doctrine of 'Struggle for Existence' and are not controlled by moral forces. Unless and until the moral forces definitely predominate

in human existence, there is no future for the mankind. The only way is to start early and to train the youth to serve humanity and practise the tenets of non-violence whole-heartedly.

From centuries all great men have initiated and preached doctrines embodying love and respect for neighbours but unfortunately these doctrines have never been put to practice seriously. Countries have so far depended on armaments and brute force and we see the end of all this in the gigantic conflict which is creating havoc in Europe today. We must sincerely make a serious effort to follow whole-heartedly the doctrines of non-violence and abide by them.

Science has made marvellous progress in the last century and we owe most of the amenities of modern civilisation to the progress of Science and its applications. But unfortunately powerful governments all over the world are utilising scientific discoveries and inventions for devising weapons for annihilating mankind on a large scale. Many scientists have always declared that science has a double aim—one, the pursuit of truth for its own sake and the other of serving humanity. But these ideals have never been worked up to on a large scale and that is why although the modern

world is scientifically progressive, it is morally and ethically backward. It is high time that thinking people all over the world should make a gigantic effort and should unite and do something to avoid catastrophe in the future and build our civilisation on the cross of non-violence.

XII

M. K. GANDHI

It has been a matter of the greatest joy to me and consolation, in the face of many difficulties, to find that the student world throughout India has a warm corner for me in its heart. The students have lightened my burden to a very great extent. But I cannot suppress the feeling, that, in spite of this personal affection which the students have shown to me everywhere, and even identification with the poorest of the land, they have yet to cover a vast amount of ground. For, you, students, are the hope of the future. You will be called upon, when you are discharged from your colleges and schools, to enter upon public life to lead the poor people of this country. I would, therefore, like you to have a sense of responsibility and show it in a much more tangible manner. It is a remarkable and regrettable fact, that in the case of the vast majority of students, while they entertain noble impulses during their student days, these

disappear when they finish their studies. The vast majority of them look out for loaves and fishes.

Surely, there is something wrong in this. There is one reason which is obvious. Every educationist who has had anything to do with the students, has realised that our educational system is faulty. It does not correspond with the requirements of the country,—certainly not with the requirements of pauper India. There is no correspondence between the education that is given and the home life and the village life.

Taking things as they are, we have to consider what is possible for the students to do and what more they can do in order to serve the country. The answer that has come to me and to many, who are eager to see that the student world gives a good account of itself, is that the students have to search within and look after their personal character. Purity of personal life is the one indispensable condition for building a sound education. And my meetings with thousands of students, and the correspondence in which they pour out their innermost feelings and take me into their confidence, show me quite clearly that there is much left to be desired. Whatever, therefore, you do, do not lose faith in God.

I cannot reason out the thing for you; because, really speaking, this is a fact which transcends reason. But I want you to cultivate a spirit of real humility and not summarily reject the experiences of so many teachers, Rishis, and others, or regard them as so many superstitious men. If you will but heed them, all the rest that I want to say will be as clear as crystal to you. This will be to me the test of the sincerity of your profession. If you have real faith in God, you cannot but feel for the humblest of his creation. And whether it is the Spinning Wheel and Khadi, or Untouchability, or total Prohibition, or Social Reform, in connection with child-widows or child-wives and many other similar things, you will find that all these activities are derived from the same source.

You have claimed for me an honour in connection with the student world which I dare not appropriate. But I am endeavouring to claim another honour and that is to become a servant of the student world—not only of India, but, if it is not too high a claim, of the student world throughout the Universe. I am in touch with some students in the remotest corners of the earth, and if God gives me a few more years, I might be able to make good that claim. I know that I have

established a vital connection with thousands and thousands of students in India.

You have used the proper word for the mass of students all over the world—the ‘Students’ Republic’. You have claimed for yourselves irresponsibility. May it be yours, if it be within limits. The moment the limits are crossed, you will cease to be students. For a student does not cease to be a student the moment he leaves his scholastic career. At any rate, looking back over 40 years, I find that when I left my studies I was only entering the threshold of the student’s career. And as one who has had some experience of life, take it from me that mere book reading will be of little help to you in after-life. I know from correspondence with the students all over India what wrecks they have become by having stuffed their brains with information derived from a cartload of books. Some have become unhinged, others have become lunatics, some have been leading a life of helpless impurity.

My heart goes out to them, when they say that, try as much as they might, they are what they are, because they cannot overpower the devil.

‘Tell us’, they plaintively ask, ‘how to get rid of the devil, how to get rid of the impurity that

has seized us’.

When I ask them to take *Rama Nama*, and kneel before God and seek His help, they come to me and say, “We do not know where God is. We do not know what it is to pray.”

That is the state to which they have been reduced. I have, therefore, been asking the students to be on their guard, not to read all the literature that is within their reach; and I ask their teachers to cultivate their hearts and establish with the students a heart-contact. I have felt that the teachers’ work lies more outside than inside the lecture room. In this work-a-day world, where teachers and professors work for the wages they get, they have no time to give to the students outside the classroom; and that is the greatest stumbling block in the development of life and character of students today. For, unless the teachers are prepared to give all their time outside the classroom to their students, not much can be done. Let them fashion their hearts rather than their brains. Let them help to erase every word which means ‘disappointment’ and ‘despair’ out of their dictionary.

I am trying to put before you all that is welling up in my breast. Never own a defeat in a sacred cause, and make up your mind henceforth that you

will be pure and that you will find a response from God. But God never answers the prayers of an arrogant, nor the prayers of those who bargain with him. A Tamil saying has always remained in my memory, which means, "God is the help of the helpless". If you would ask Him to help you, you should go to Him in all your nakedness, approach Him without reservations,—also without fear or doubt as to how He can help a fallen being like you.

He who has helped millions who have approached Him, is He going to desert you? He makes no exceptions whatsoever; and you will find that every one of your prayers will be answered. The prayer of even the most impure will be answered.

I am telling this out of my personal experience. I have gone through purgatory. Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, and everything will be added unto you. Do not go to your books, or to your teachers, with impure hearts. Go with the purest hearts and you will get from them what you want. If you want to become patriots and protectors of the weak, espousers of the cause of the poor and the oppressed, purify your hearts first. If you approach your mission in life in that spirit, all will

be well.

Daridranarain is one of the millions of names by which humanity knows God, Who is unnameable, and unfathomable by human understanding. It means the God of the poor,—God appearing in the hearts of the poor. It was the name used, in one of his intuitive and sacred moments, by the late Deshabandhu Das. It is not a name adopted by me out of my own experience; it is a heritage from Deshabandhu. He used the word in connection with the mission to which, among several others, my life is dedicated,—I mean the Gospel of the Charkha, or the Spinning Wheel. I know there are still many who laugh at this little wheel and regard this particular activity of mine as an aberration. In spite of the criticism and ridicule which is levelled at it, I adhere to the God of Spinning Wheel, as one of my substantial activities. I feel certain—as I am certain that I am addressing you at the present moment—that a time is coming when all the scoffing will cease, and the scoffers will kneel and pray with me that the Spinning Wheel may find an abiding place in the desolate homes of the underfed, starving millions of India.

If you, the students, have followed and under-

stood the implications of this mission of mine, you will soon extend to others the help I want from you. Many students have written to me asking what part they can play in helping this movement. It is a surprise to me that students are obliged even to ask this question. The field is so vast and so near you, that you need not ask it. It is not a political question. It may become one; but for you and me, for the time being, it is not connected with politics. My life is governed by religion. I have said that even my politics are derived from my religion. I have never lost sight of the principle that governs my life, since I began dabbling in politics. As this is a humanitarian campaign, students must devote a part of their spare time, if not the whole, to the service of thousands of the Harijans. If I get many helpers who can give their spare time, much work can be done. This work cannot be done by hired labour. With hired labour we can not go to Harijan quarters and sweep their roads, enter their houses, and wash their children.

I have described in the columns of the *Harijan* what students can do. A Harijan teacher has shown what a Herculean task it is for him to tackle. Even wild children are more easily manag-

ed. Wild children are not sunk in utter degradation, as the Harijan children are, nor do they live in such filthy surroundings. Therefore, this problem cannot be tackled by hired labour. No amount of money can enable me to do this. It must be your prerogative. It is an acid test of the education received by you in school and in college. As you have said, I am a dreamer. My dreams are not airy nothings. I want, as far as possible, to convert my dreams into realities.

XIII

R. RUGGLES GATES, F.R.S.

[*King's College, University of London*]

Having visited India and seen something of the rapid changes which are taking place, I can well understand the perplexity with which university students enter upon the stage in which they take all knowledge for their province and feel suddenly all the problems of modern civilization pressing upon them. Even the wisest are appalled by the powers for destruction and change placed in the hands of mankind without any corresponding increase in his moral and rational development. We all need in these circumstances to look to our loyalties, to see where they are conflicting and which are the fundamental ones to which we must adhere at all costs.

It seems to me that goodness, truth and beauty of life, in the widest sense, represent those fundamental ideals to which all mankind can equally do homage. Those who adhere to these things as

general guides can recognise that on occasions they are worth striving and fighting for; and if any is inclined to overrate the importance of his own activities, let him remember that the stars look down on our speck of dust, the earth, from a distance of a hundred million light years.

XIV

TUSHAR KANTI GHOSH

[*Editor, The Amrit Bazar Patrika*]

The aim and purpose of education in India have been undergoing deep and rapid changes during the last few years. The prevalence of illiteracy in the country formerly had the effect of raising the educated person higher in the social ladder than the common masses and the handfuls of educated persons could confidently look forward to such employment as enabled them to enjoy a higher standard of life than the others. In short, the educated person lived as distinct from the masses and had little sympathy with them. Today the position is being rapidly changed; thousands of educated youth, bred and cultured in a system of education that makes of them gentlemen with broad interests but does not qualify them for any particular line of work for a living, are finding themselves unable to obtain a livelihood. Thus, on the immediately practical side, the claim for a reorientation of the

educational policy in the country has become more and more insistent. But what is far more important is that there has been growing among the student community a conflict of ideas which calls for an immediate solution, to obtain which our students have been obliged to fall back upon themselves and consequently there have been diversities and, not unoften, contradictions in their approaches to the problem of how they should conduct themselves, what should be their aim and ideal of life and what should be their duty in the present situation of the country.

Great and revolutionary changes have taken place in the world, since the last Great War, in the spheres of politics, economics and sociology. Isolated as she is from the world, India has felt the shock of these changes, some of which are of a far-reaching character. Political consciousness has been growing apace among our masses, but this growth has been haphazard, ill-directed and sometimes perverse. Unable to adjust the ideas—most of them vague—which it has imbibed, to the exigencies of the circumstances in which they are placed, the mass mind is allowing its activities to waste themselves in the desert of communalism and in similar perverted channels placed in the vanguard of the

nation by reason of their superior knowledge and ability, the students are today finding themselves at the crossroad, undecided which way to turn.

The students should always be guided by the realisation that in the peculiar circumstances of the country today they are the natural guardians of the masses who have just attained political childhood and that it is their duty to direct the energies of the masses in the proper channels. In order to take up this task, they will have to do a lot of careful thinking. Their first and foremost duty, I should say, is to equip themselves for the most useful service they can give to the country according to their temperament and ability. Whatever the nature of the different ideologies to which they may subscribe, the fact remains that they have to do something objective for the country. It is natural that young men should think and talk in extreme terms, but it is also necessary that they should work in the light of their ideals and in view of realities.

What should be the aim and ideal of life of our students? Here, again, is a question on which no light is thrown by the books they are given to study. There is, however, one saying that holds good for youth in all ages—and it is that a life

lived in the devoted pursuit of a noble cause is a life well and truly lived. In our present circumstances, the noblest cause I can recommend to students is the cause of the motherland. To serve her as best as they can, in peace and war, to earn freedom for her and to maintain and augment it in adversity and prosperity is the truest aim and ideal of life to which our students can aspire.

How to set about the pursuit of this ideal is the next question. Mere self-dedication is not enough. Amateurish service will not do. It requires as hard a preparation, as exclusive a devotion, as religious ideals. One must convince oneself of the particular kind of service, the particular line of work in which one's best energies can be utilised. And during this formative period one must necessarily keep somewhat aloof from the active or political field, while watching events and tendencies with a keen eye. If, at this stage, the students allow themselves to be swayed by every movement of the hour, they will have dissipated their energies unfruitfully. There are, however, some practical works they may take up in the meantime with advantage. The most important among them is the campaign against illiteracy. Here is a curse that must be removed without delay. Another

4. They lack self-confidence who think their age to be inferior. Be careful or such thoughts are likely to produce cowardice and humiliation. Our age is the best. There is a great field of action awaiting us even now.

5. If we go on collecting old worn out things our houses will resemble dunghills. Even the garland of flowers may become refuse tomorrow. If the stream of our lives does not flow unchecked it will stagnate in the ravines and become a dirty pool.

6. No matter the past is dead and gone, our own age is present and it is none the less fresh and grand. This new book has many new chapters, new lessons, artistic pictures and other decorations.

7. We are not the inhabitants of the sky, but the creatures of this earth out of whose wholesome qualities our bodies are built. Do not forget that our country is our supreme goddess whom else should we offer worship except to her?

8. Life is a battle and courage is a good omen to assure victory. The world is transitory but our soul is eternal. If we ruin our career here how can we hope to brighten it in Heaven. We shall build paradise on earth and God himself will come here.

9. Who can dare oppose us if the desire of our heart is supported by our mind and we are ready to sacrifice our lives to win it? Death has its own glory as deeds have. There is no need to seek antecedent. We ourselves shall furnish antecedent for others.

10. Unless we follow the example of our heroes simply hero-worship will not do. Utterance or desire will not perform our duties unless we translate it into practice.

11. The man who goes forward to lead others is certainly great, but greater are those who do their duties without desiring fame. He is an ascetic who does his duty silently. His achievements though not known to man are honoured and recognised by God.

12. Humanity resides in human hearts not in palaces. Nothing is impossible which a man desires by heart. We challenge Death itself. We gladly welcome doomsday in order to bring a new world order.

13. Just as thorny flowers (like rose) are full of perfume, similarly those who are brought up in difficulties show promise in later life.

XVI

CORDELL HULL

[*Secretary of State, U. S. A.*]

A diploma does not mean that education is completed. It rather means that education has just begun. It is evidence of the best possible equipment having been acquired to enable the individual to progress in his education and grapple more and more effectively with the problems of life. Thus the career of one as a student should not end with graduation. He should continue to be constantly a student. There is never a moment when the field of new knowledge does not beckon him, a field from which he cannot shrink without sacrificing opportunities and neglecting the duties he owes society. George Washington was not a student in any school after he was 16 years old. In a letter written to his mother by Lord Fairfax it was said 'his education might have been better' but the prediction was made that he 'would go to school all his life and profit thereby'.

And so throughout his life he was in fact a diligent student, fitting himself for the successful performance of his work as the outstanding citizen, soldier and statesman.

Unprofitable as dead fruit, is learning not put to use. The true business of a conscientious student, whether young or old, is to employ the knowledge he obtains not simply for his own advancement, but for the benefit of others. His noblest task is to employ it for the common good. This is the divine injunction: 'Let him who would be the greatest among you be the servant of all'. In preparing themselves to meet the most urgent need for leadership within generations, the youth could have no finer motto than 'intelligence, integrity, and industry'.

Those who enjoy educational opportunities formerly not within the reach of any except a fortunate few, but not within the reach of all, should feel a peculiar sense of personal responsibility. May I not suggest that, since a republic, as a noted writer has remarked, must constantly renew its youth, it is for you and others throughout the land who have received such training as has been your good fortune, to give to those who at any moment are charged with the responsibility of

conducting government, the benefit of your best thought and cooperation, for the old have much to learn from the young? There are more opportunities for the present young generation than is generally believed. It would be folly, however, for all to fail to recognise that the world is living more in an iron than in the so-called golden age. The youth may as well realize that they face a world of stress and responsibilities far more difficult and complex than any during recent generations. More of study and of time and of effort will be required of those who lead and plan than is generally imagined. The task must be approached with vision, energy and resolution, and in many respects with a pioneering and self-sacrificing spirit. Our educational institutions must step out in front and point the way. Theirs is the inescapable responsibility of bringing the higher education and all the marvelous things it stands for to those who in a few years will be the leaders in the political, professional and economic life of the nation.

Such is the picture I would leave with you today, as you finish your education and prepare to enter the world of action. Your generation has for solution problems more complex than have faced any preceding genera-

tion, and your responsibilities are correspondingly great. If you will meet these problems courageously, yet with understanding; with faith in democracy and the traditions of our past; with a willingness to return to the habits, industry, and hardihood of preceding generations who never knew the meaning of ease and indolence; with a willingness to rely on yourselves and not admit dependence on any governmental agency for help except in real emergency; and, finally, with a realization that no one country can stand alone, and that each must contribute for the common good—then the future will be yours, and you cannot fail.

The late Frederick Harrison, a profound English philosopher, once addressed this moving challenge to his countrymen: 'Nothing can save us but a high moral sense, a national creed of loyalty, discipline and unselfish devotion to duty—in a word, a more efficient religion'. His words ring just as true now, and his message is just as fitting in our country and in all other parts of the earth. The youth of our country are entering the world of action at a time when, as seldom before in the whole gamut of human history, these qualities of character are desperately needed. In nearly every domain of life, hostility prevails over friendliness,

and distrust over confidence and good faith. To raise once more to their proper height the lowered standards of international morality is a task that confronts your generation and mine. I cannot believe that, stupendous and difficult though it be, this task is beyond our power.

It is my firm belief that only a free and self-governing people can possess the necessary scope and vitality of spirit, aspiration and enterprise to reach out for a better and fuller life. Yet no people will long remain free and self-governing unless its citizens, singly or in groups practise mutual regard and respect, tolerance and cooperation.

The eighteenth century was characterized by a search for political ideas and ideals. During the nineteenth century, the energies of mankind were predominantly directed along lines of technical and economic progress. With two such centuries behind it, the twentieth century should be a Golden Age of fruition. So far, however, with a little more than one-third of it gone by, this century has been a period of acute and complicated problems. It is our task to demonstrate to ourselves and to others, that the complexities of technological progress can be mastered in such a way as to promote rather than impair the welfare of humanity. It is our

task to demonstrate that freedom and democracy are essential to such mastery, rather than are insurmountable obstacles to it, and that peace, within and among nations, is indispensable to the preservation of freedom and democracy.

These tasks are not easy. But I am convinced that it is not beyond the power of my generation and yours to make vital contribution to their eventual accomplishment. Unless we fail in the duties of responsible citizenship, I have no doubt that, before its span is finished, the twentieth century will still rank as a Golden Age in the annals of mankind.

XVII

ZAKIR HUSAIN

[*Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi*]

I have been asked to give our youth some advice on the problems confronting them and I have done my best to avoid saying anything. I think too much advice is being broadcast already through our modern agencies of education and information, and I fear I may just add to the noise without making it any more attractive for a listener. And then he who gives advice must be entitled for some patent reason to do so. Age, position, speech or facile pen do not give that title. I do not claim to possess these virtues or any others.

It is not only these considerations that make me feel diffident. Advice is a dangerous gift, because it is different from all others that we give out of kindness or affection. Another gift would not lose its value for being given on an occasion that was not a birthday, say, or a wedding, or any of those other occasions custom provides for demons-

tration of mutual regard. But advice given at a wrong moment or to the wrong man is moral effort wasted, a good word spoken in vain. Coming from the wrong man, advice can be morally fatal. For then it provides breeding ground for hypocrisy and deceit. It creates an atmosphere where people loathe the name of virtue, because they firmly believe it to be nothing more than a disguise which vice adopts to escape detection.

I can think of only one simile which will convey precisely what I mean. You want to go somewhere and have come to a place where the road branches off in several directions. You do not know which one to take. A man appears then, and gives you the directions you need. This is good advice. All else is at least irrelevant, and may, at the worst, even be harmful.

I suppose it was this feeling that we were in the dark and liable to go wrong that moved Mr Singh to ask those whom he considered worthy to give some advice to the youth. But I would, for that very reason, avoid dispensing what is generally understood to be good advice. If the moment is critical for us and our country it means we must assess and husband our resources, spending only the unavoidable minimum. We must be efficient

and sparing in the use above all things of words. Appeals to imagination and emotion can promote a movement only when the workers are ready to act, the leaders to direct and the followers to perform their appointed duties. Demonstrativeness of this kind, if it precedes silent constructive activity is liable to destroy a movement. It is as catastrophic as a declaration of war that precedes and hampers mobilisation. We know that our goal is unity, freedom, contentment. Unity and freedom are blazing lights ahead of us; they are not statues that good advice only can unveil, that still more good advice alone can enable us to appreciate. As for contentment, it can be achieved only by the individual, when he has decided what he wants and how much of it he has the power to get. National peace and contentment is just the sum total of what individuals have obtained for themselves.

“I want this and this, what shall I do?” is a question most young men ask. This is, as it were, an invitation to the old or the enlightened to give good advice. The answer to the question is invariably vague and generally misleading because the question that should be put last has been asked first. Young men must carry out a great deal of preliminary investigation for themselves before

they approach their elders with this final query. Do they really want what they, under the influence of this or that impulse, think that they want? Do they want it more than most of many other desirable things? Have they the aptitude required for achieving what they want?

Young men generally avoid or overlook this examination of ends and means because of the general atmosphere of inefficiency that prevails, an atmosphere where the severe discipline necessary for inspiring confidence and producing contentment is shirked and the mere desire for anything is regarded as a claim to its possession. The enthusiasm for national service is a case in point. It is a sentiment that is widespread, fashion has made it appear almost universal. But it passes from one person to another without gaining in intensity, a ripple on the surface of our life that does not move the depths. Whatever we have achieved in nation-building has been the work of the comparatively few who had decided for themselves the fundamental question of what they wanted and asked for advice only to increase their efficiency.

It is natural, I may say almost inevitable, for young men to feel that everything is possible if not easy for them, to look for work that is worthy

of them rather than set about to make themselves worthy of the work that has to be done. The knowledge of one's limitations is acquired by slow degrees. But I think this knowledge, very valuable in itself, comes to our youth with a disillusionment and sometimes a bitterness which vitiates their outlook or impairs their faculties, and I believe this is due very largely to our willingness to give, and their readiness to receive all manner of emotional stimulants, calls to arise and liberate, socialistic criticism, political day-dreams. All this I would label as good advice, and for the moment put away in some secret corner. What we need is definite objectives that are within our capacity, labour like that of the ants. No matter if it makes our life dull and unromantic. Small achievements on a nation-wide scale, constantly repeated, even if they appear microscopic to our spoilt imagination, will in their sum total far exceed the harvest we reap from our good intentions now. They will discipline our minds. And they will teach us that it is better not to aspire for all the glories of this world than to aspire for them in vain.

XVIII

SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, K.C.I.E.

[*Dewan of Mysore*]

Someone has said that there are two kinds of unwise persons; those who give good advice, and those who do not take it. So long as it is certain that the advice I propose to give you is conceded as good, I shall not worry if I am placed in the first group, and you decide to join the ranks of the second.

Any one who attempts to advise students and call to their minds their duties and opportunities cannot help doing one of two things. He may lay stress on the supreme importance of stability in the social order and on the need for discipline and thought before students are called upon to act. Or, he may invite the students to give expression to their idealism in deeds and to find channels for their spirit of adventure. If he emphasises that the student should be concerned chiefly with the discipline of thought and study he will

be regarded as a wet blanket. If, on the other hand, he ventures to opine that students should give concrete expression to their ideals in action he will be condemned as a social incendiary and an apostle of revolution.

You are in the first of the Four Stages of Life according to the traditions of this country : Preparation, Participation, Retreat and Renunciation. Each stage has its own appropriate functions and privileges, and your function is to prepare for the next stage of active participation in the struggles of every day life by study and quiet thinking, and your privilege is to be given unstinted facilities for so doing. You must strengthen your bodies and sharpen your minds for the tasks that lie ahead of you. Nothing is to be gained by short circuiting, by allowing the functions of the next stage to impinge upon the duties of the present one. You are destined to be earners and citizens in the coming years, but you must be learners now. It will be yours to maintain and develop the traditions of the past and the activities of the present. Nature does not take leaps, and when she occasionally does, the result is a 'freak'. The future is yours, but do not be in a hurry to enter upon your heritage.

The rise in the political and international status

of India will have reality only if internal conditions improve in corresponding measure. We all know that the life of the country has been marked by bitter communal rivalries and conflicts, by the intrusion of religion into politics, by the low social and economic status of large sections of the community and above all by the prevalence of ignorance and lack of education among large masses of the people. The initiative for improvement in these matters will no doubt be taken by the elder generation and by those in authority. But if the task is to be performed thoroughly and extensively, the burden will ultimately fall on you, the rising generation, who are now preparing yourselves to enter life. Even now while you are pursuing your studies and preparing yourselves to take your ultimate places in the social and economic framework of the country, you can help most effectively towards the creation of the New India by promoting in your own circles communal and social harmony.

Above all, you can take an active part in social and educational reconstruction, by assisting movements whose objective is to bridge the gulf between the Hindu and the Musalman, between the town and the country and between the educated classes and

the illiterate masses. These activities are not spectacular, and do not make so immediate an impression as the organization of a procession or a strike, but the work is constructive, and the results when they come, as indeed they must, will be a united country, whose people will be enlightened and will rejoice in the sense of a full life and of comradeship with each other. And, while we are watching with hope and trembling the outcome of the titanic struggle in the West, that is the great goal towards which we must strive here in this Eastern land.

Finally, I feel tempted to make a suggestion to you. It is merely this. Be kinder than necessary. It is a way to happiness. If you all should decide to follow this suggestion, one need not be surprised if by afternoon a glance in a mirror would show a smile.

Do try and be kind in your dealings with your fellowmen, especially in this age of hate when the world seems to have had a mental break-down and to have entered an era of senseless brutality in which people who have control over others are determined to make an end of humanity, justice and decency. People have been taught to hate by classes, by races, by creeds, and by nations. Governments are erect-

ed on foundations of prejudice, emotionalism, vindictiveness and persecution. Men are leaders because they can preach hate and fury. Reason and goodwill have been driven underground. You, young men, have got to be more than careful not to fall a prey to the insidious poison which fills the atmosphere today and follow the advice of an ancient law-giver.

“Let no one”, Manu says “even though in pain, speak words which cut others to the quick; let him not injure another in thought or in deed; let him not utter a word which may cause others to fear, since that will prevent him from gaining Swarga.” Let me quote to you the Morgan formula for success:—

“Do your work; be honest, keep your word; help when you can; be fair.”

Bear these words in mind and act up to them.

XIX

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA GANGANATHA JHA

I am an old fashioned man, with old fashioned ideas. I am therefore wedded to the well-worn maxim—"One thing at a time, and that done well".

That being granted, and it also being understood that the act of studying forms the very essence of the connotation of the term "student", it follows, as night the days that studying is the duty of the student. The next step also follows, with the same relentless logic, that this studying should be the one duty of the student; he should devote his whole attention to it; whatever else he does should all be conducive to the fulfilment of that same duty. There will be distractions and attractions; all these should be avoided, or kept aside for "future reference".

In fact, "do your duty" is a rule that should be struck to throughout one's life. This is what was meant by Shri Krishna when he said 'Karmanye-

vádhikárástē', कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते ।

Our scriptures have furnished definite duties for every stage of our life. If we follow these, our work will not suffer at any point. But always remember 'one thing at a time'; a comixture of operations must lead to confusion in the results.

Above all remember 'Karmanyevadhikaraste', कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते Let this be your guide. Be not sorry if success is not yours; it is your business to do your duty to the best of your ability and it is the duty of some other person to bring about the success that duty deserves.

This is exactly what is meant by the Christian teaching 'Do your duty and leave the result in the hands of God'. Another point I would stress is that you should maintain a balanced mind. The means to this is conciliable to you in the law of karma; no joy, no sorrow can come to you unless you deserve it on account of something done by yourself in the past,—and so far as the future is concerned whether it will be happy or unhappy depends almost entirely upon what you do in the present life.

Of course, this idea implies several lives for our personality. This forms the keynote of the ethics of all Indian religions; and to my mind no other idea is more helpful in reconciling ourselves

to our present conditions and yet preserving in us the deepest self-respect,—we are the masters of our own destiny.



XX

STANLEY E. JONES, D.D.

As I see it, the youth of India are being called on to deal with five revolutions at once, namely, the intellectual, the social, the economic, the political, the moral and the spiritual. All these revolutions are taking place simultaneously and the mind of youth is the meeting place of all of them. Hence youth is deeply disturbed. What youth needs is an all comprehensive conception which will gather up all the lesser meanings of life into one comprehensive whole and give truth and goal to all of them. I believe that all comprehensive conception is the kingdom of God on earth, as Jesus preached it.

In this we find a conception large enough to gather up all these revolutions and then give them truth and goal. I know of no other conception big enough to do this. I, therefore, commend to you and to the youth of India a study of the meaning of the kingdom of God, for in it you will find the total answer to the total need.

XXI

D. K. KARVE

I think students, specially under-graduate students should keep away from all practical steps in controversial questions. They may take part in their long vacations in village uplift work or similar uncontroversial activity. They should be allowed to attend meetings in which discussions on controversial subjects take place.

XXII

KAKA KALELKAR*

[*Wardha*]

During the last European war Mahatma Gandhi returned to this country and began his work. The articles that he published, movements like Satyagrah that he started, the institutions he founded, his experiments, his stimulating advice to others were all wonderful. One can say without exaggeration that no such person had been born in India in the history of past ten thousand years, who had travelled far and wide to see his country, who had considered all its problems and given his solutions to them, and who had looked into the future of three thousand years and pointed towards it with certainty.

Young men of India have no right to call themselves Indians and contemporaries of Gandhi if they do not read the biography of this eminent genius and powerful nationalist, his articles and

*For the original Hindi version see Appendix.

the history of the institutions originated by him.

Indian youths ought to study his principles and experiments whether they believe in them or not. Very little inclination of reading contemporary history is seen in our countrymen. They do not go beyond newspapers. They do not study with a view to help Indian institutions to raise or change the outlook of the masses. They do read life, literature, principles and works of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin for such literature is plenty in English. There is no encouragement for original thinking in such books.

The young men of India should not only read books but try to think and discover for themselves. Only then their intellect will develop and they will discover the field of action they are fit for.

XXIII

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

Students should be as sponges soaking in every bit of knowledge during their school and university days. They should learn to think intelligently and independently. They must keep in touch with world affairs. Student days are preeminently the days for acquiring a love of discipline and developing the capacity to live in harmony with fellow beings and to understand the other person's point of view. If the corporate life of a university means any thing it should certainly do away with all class and communal feeling. The young generation has got to solve this vexed problem. Plain living and high thinking should be the motto of all students. If they stop for one moment to think of the enormous poverty of our country they will delight in spending the minimum on themselves and giving the maximum in service to the needy. India needs the unstinted service of every one of her sons and daughters. The use of Khadi, the removal of untouchability and communal harmony are three spheres of work eminently suitable for students.

XXIV

KHAN ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN

میرا پیغام کوئی نیا نہیں - جو قربانی اور ایثار یورپی اقوام کے
طالب علم اپنی قوم اور ملک کیلئے مصیبت کیوقت کر رہے ہیں - خدا کرے
کہ وہی احساس اور عمل ہمارے غلام اور مصیبت زدہ ملک کے نوجوان
طالب علموں میں پیدا ہو جائے - فقط
عبد الغفار

I have no new message for you. The sacrifice which the students of Europe are making for their nation and country in the time of distress, may also make the students of our slave and oppressed country feel to do the same.

XXV

SIR SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

[*University Professor of History, Allahabad*]

The essential duty of a student is to concentrate on his studies, and qualify himself for positions of trust and responsibility by possessing not only intellectual prowess, but also moral worth. A clever student, who has not developed or practised moral principles of a high order, is a pest to society. The true worth of a student is to be measured by his capacity for action. The word action is used in a comprehensive manner. For a student, it means concentration in his studies, and avoidance of all activities which interfere with his primary duty. He must be an all round man, sound in body, mind and morals.

I have consistently opposed participation of students in politics. They must treat politics academically, and study political science from the point of view of instruction and information. But it is best for them to keep clear of practical politics.

XXVI

IRVING LANGMUIR

[F.R.S., D.SC., NOBEL LAUREATE

New York, U.S.A.]

Our schools and universities devote so much effort in imparting information to students that they almost neglect the far more important function of teaching the student how to get for himself what knowledge of any subject he may need. Even in grammar schools children are crammed with more information on arbitrarily selected subjects that even the average well educated adult can retain. Of course students should be taught the fundamental principles of mathematics, and of various sciences as well as of other subjects, but much of the knowledge of data upon which these principles depend and necessary information should be obtained by the efforts of the student through experimentation and individual reading.

The university student should have leisure for some independent work and opportunities

for continuing his interest in hobbies of various kinds which he should have long before he entered college. I realise that it is difficult so as to arouse the student's interest that he will spend the added leisure in these ways rather than in spending still more on the bleachers, cheering the football team in their practice games, but a well planned effort is worthwhile.

The importance of arousing even a young boy's interest in independent work can hardly be over-emphasized. My real interest in science was derived from my brother Arthur, who encouraged me to have a workshop at the age of nine, and later a laboratory when I was only twelve.

I should like to see spontaneous work of this kind take a much more prominent part in our educational system at least for students who have more than average ability.

Very great benefit may be derived from hobbies. Probably each person should have several of them. Recently I met a small boy, only six years old, who had an overpowering, wide eyed enthusiasm for collecting insects. He weighed each one of them within a milligram, and then, after desiccating them thoroughly over calcium chloride, weighed them again. Many elaborate notes and

even correspondence resulted. I am afraid our universities, with their dormitories and other standardizations, tend to discourage such wholesome individual activities.

All hobbies, however, stimulate individual action, and may develop wholesome curiosity. The child should acquire them early, and our educational system should foster them.

XXVII

HAROLD J. LASKI

[The University of London]

My own feeling is strong one that students in Indian Universities, as a specially privileged class, have the obligation to do anything they can to assist in the political and social emancipation of India. The best way of which I know to that end is support of the policies with which Mr Nehru's name is so nobly associated.

XXVIII

MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN, C. H.

*[Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty's Government
in U.S.A.]*

The only foundation on which the new world civilization can rest is that every individual should learn how to think and act for himself or herself from the standpoint of Principle, both in personal and social affairs, and so to resist the mesmeric influences of mass psychology, selfishness and superstition. For it is only by reaching the point where we can learn of God, the one Mind and the Creator of all that is eternally real, that we shall find the unifying and law creating Principle which will bring order and purpose into the confused strivings of the transitional and scientific age, both in family life and in economic and political affairs.

XXIX

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

All that I wish to tell students is summed up
in one Shloka:

सत्येन ब्रह्मचर्येण व्यायामेनाऽथ विद्यया ।

देशभक्त्याऽत्मत्यागेन संमानार्हः सदाभव ॥

By cultivating truth, by practising continence,
By regular exercise, by devotion to your studies,
By patriotism and the spirit of self-sacrifice,
Be always worthy of being honoured.

XXX

KISHORLAL G. MASHRUWALA*

[*President, Gandhi Seva Sangh, Wardha*]

When a country is about to rise, good ideas prevail. Whereas when the country is to fall men's ideas become evil. I give a few forms of the former:—

(1) The increase of devotion towards simplicity and self-restraint. The lack of inclination towards luxurious life, self-indulgence, and free-will. The feeling of pleasure in conquering one's own desires and in suffering undergone for public welfare. To be after such means as help in achieving them.

(2) To have spirit to sink differences between man and man, between one society and the other or to bring about a compromise between them. To hate inclinations that try to widen such differences, or bring them into conflict.

(3) The increase of spirit to serve the people

*For the original Hindi version see Appendix.

by special qualifications of office, money, youth, knowledge and art. To renounce self-ambition, selfish motives in order to be on equal terms with all men rather than to form a separate group and torture others who disagree, or to become petty leaders, priests or kings who always quarrel for supremacy.

(4) To have no pride for one's own wisdom and power nor the lack of self-confidence. In the same way there is neither blind faith nor lack of faith in others.

(5) To exchange views with interest but without any selfish motive on the problems of public welfare in political, social, or religious gatherings. To obey their rules and decisions faithfully, to preserve the same unity from beginning to end, and to discharge their duties with a keen sense of responsibility. To interpret their decisions honestly and not to distrust them.

(6) To respect superiors, aged, shrewd politicians of character, religionists and heroes and seek their advice frequently.

(7) To treat women with respect. To protect their health and honour, never to abuse, beat or be hard with them.

(8) To arrange proper education for children,

to treat them with love and respect. To regard them as the future hope of a nation.

(9) To have faith in good conduct, to like the company of the gentlemen and the learned. To invite such persons from other places to entertain them and be profited by their company.

(10) To keep one's character pure in dealing with sex and wealth.

(11) To settle the grave problems of the country not by duel, riot or battle but by exchanging views, by peaceful negotiations or arbitration.

(12) To have faith in the search for truth of life and Universe.

XXXI

GUALTHERUS H. MEES, M.A., LL.D.

[*Fellow, Netherland's Sociological Society, Holland*]

I think the immediate object of a student is objective and systematic study. For that reason it is good that, as long as he is a student, he should control his idealistic creative urge to some extent (*i.e.*, he should not talk or act too much in the interest of politics) and think first and foremost of study. This study, however, should not be merely of the text book type but he should try to get as much as possible out of the teachers in the way of personal talks and discussions with them and with all personalities of interest he has a chance to contact. He should remember that the old distinction of East and West does not hold good any more since many persons with so-called Eastern minds are nowadays found in the West and many Indians have a Western mind (an expression also coined for the sake of comparison).

The student should remember the ancient

ideals of education of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian antiquity: that education is not mere gathering of knowledge, not mere preparation for a job, but personality unfoldment and the training for life; the inspiration, adaptation and capacity to fulfil a certain function in society.

The student should not prepare himself in the first place for a job, but realise that he is called for leadership, and train his back for the burden of responsibility and his heart in love for the younger brothers and sisters (his later dependents and inferiors, *etc.*) who will look up to him for guidance, in things economical as well as cultural.

People will soon begin to realise that there is no quarrel between the national and the international. Both are as it were two sides of one coin. We should not express ourselves according to the traditions and customs of our ancestors, and never *imitate* foreign ones (though *adaptation* may sometimes be highly useful). Our duty begins in our immediate neighbourhood. It is useless to talk of helping people that live far away from us. We can only help our "neighbours", that is, the people we see every day, the people we live with: our relatives, our servants, our friends, our superiors and inferiors in work. Nowadays we all feel

that "we have to help the world" in some way or other. How can we do it? If we do not learn to do our duty in the *now* and the *here*, we shall never be of any use to society in any way and consequently never know the joy of peace in our heart. If we cannot do the small we shall never be able to do the great.

Society consists of individuals, order and harmony in the world must be established by the individuals in their own way, in the only way in which it can be done, namely, by establishing it in their own selves and in their relations with others *which two things are really two aspects of one and the same thing.*

XXXII

RAO RAJA SHYAM BIHARI MISRA*

(1) The first and foremost duty of students, in my opinion, is to labour wholeheartedly to attain knowledge. Other pursuits must be restricted to leisure hours or when some special opportunity arises. It is a mistake to follow them in much neglect of their studies. Their time will come after education.

(2) The proper thing is to face the problems of today in the light of these considerations. It may be considered proper to postpone one's studies for a day or two if some special occasion arises and after careful considerations he thinks it absolutely necessary. On such occasions the teachers may be consulted or one may even be guided by his own free will.

(3) It is natural to have different outlooks in times of peace and war. The above suggestions are true only in time of peace when a real war takes

*For the original Hindi version see Appendix.

place, one may try according to his capacity to defend himself, his relations and his country. But the present moment so far as I think, can never be considered a time of war.

(4) The aim of student life is to get education. When one's educational career is over he may enter into life and serve his relations, his community and his country selflessly. I think the sole aim of human being is to serve the creatures of God. No religion and no religious ceremony is so important as the above. When a man attains fifty-five or sixty years of age, he may become a 'Banprasthi' by which I mean becoming selfless. When a man has lost all vitality in old age, he should pass his time in worship. I think these are the aims of life.

(5) One should always behave properly with his neighbours and his country. The former are our brethren and it is our duty to do them good. The latter is our mother, and we can never sacrifice too much for her. All the Shastras say that it is good to serve the deserving men, and it is sin to inflict pain without reason.

(6) The above considerations can be useful in solving other problems also.

XXXIII

ARTHUR MOORE

[*Editor, The Statesman, Calcutta*]

I can add nothing to the wisdom of the ancients. The terrible confusion in the world to-day makes it more essential to develop wisdom in ourselves instead of looking for it in others. Each individual has to do his bit by producing order and harmony in his own life. By concentration, by controlling our thoughts so that they are not blown about by every wind on the surface of the stream of consciousness we can become tranquil in today's confusion and help others to become tranquil. Thus too we can study deeply with pleasure, and become attracted by the marvels which science reveals. There is a synthesis of knowledge to be won by contemplative study. Physics, chemistry, mathematics, mechanics take on new interest for those who have supposed themselves to be without aptitude for these, and to be more interested in classics, history, and philosophy.

My advice to a student would be,—“begin quietly and determinedly on yourself, and start now. Make yourself something inside yourself, and the path of immediate duty will become clearer and also more satisfying.”

XXXIV

H. C. MUKERJEE, M.L.A. (BENGAL)

[*President, All India Conference of Indian Christians*]

As students as a body can no longer be kept in a water-tight compartment as it were outside the influence of the extra-academic problems by which we are faced today, the older generation must try its best to assist and guide them as far as it can. It must realise that our social, cultural economic and political problems cannot be considered piecemeal and solved without reference to their mutual interdependence. They are so inextricably blended, that they not only stand together but have to be solved together. It is, therefore, that we must have co-ordination in all the various activities aiming at their solution. We have to ask ourselves whether we can profit by the freshness of mind which the students can bring to bear on these problems.

Should we not explain to them that the clamour for political freedom while dictated by patriotism

must not be made too vociferously, that though patriotism is a great and a noble quality, it is an emotion which has only too often been exploited for unworthy ends and sordid purposes? Should it not be impressed on students that political freedom greatly as it is to be prized is only a part of a larger freedom which must find its expression in every sphere of life and that, so far as students are concerned, one of their highest duties is the maintenance of intellectual freedom?

This intellectual freedom will endow them with the capacity to see things from a detached point of view teaching them that the democracy which India is trying to secure and about which we are so enthusiastic does not consist in a process of levelling down. They must be made to understand that the majority of the people prefer food, drink and amusements to higher intellectual pursuits, for which they have little aptitude and less inclination. Students, when they take an active part in politics, must decide whether the aim of the democracy which they are desirous of introducing in our motherland is merely to ensure a plentiful supply of material goods for all. If this is the only object they have before them, they should be asked to use their eyes and to see for themselves how in

India today those who are blessed with an abundance of the good things of this world are comporting themselves, how unsympathetic a majority among them are towards the poor, and what deaf ears they turn to the call of charity and then determine for themselves whether they will really be conferring a boon on our masses by merely providing for them a larger amount of food, clothing and the amenities of life. If they care to think over what they daily see, they must come to the conclusion that neither the mere satisfaction of physical needs nor the possession of abundance is enough to carry a nation very far.

Something more is required to make it really great. The patriotism of our students must therefore be directed not only towards removing such primary wants as hunger and nakedness but also towards placing before our poorer brethren and sisters facilities for lifting themselves to a higher plane and specially to create a sense of self-respect among those whom society has so long very unjustly deprived of the most ordinary of civic rights.

It is therefore that I regard Mahatma Gandhi as my political *Guru*. If he had been a little less of the leader that he is, he would have probably contented himself with looking to the physical

needs of our masses by the organisation of the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association. No one can deny the very great usefulness of the work they are doing for our masses and how they are bringing together the well-to-do and the educated and the poor to stimulate the economic progress of the nation. I for one realise fully the very valuable services they are rendering to our country and have dealt with the various aspects of their activities, times without number both through the press and the platform. But man after all is something more than an animal contented with the satisfaction of his physical needs.

It is therefore that our national leader has sponsored three other movements which, in my opinion, are destined to play an even more important part in the regeneration of our motherland. The first of these is concerned with mass education through the Wardha Scheme and its various modifications, which are being sought to be implemented by our All-India Board. This is for the intellectual uplift of the country and for mobilising its brains for I fully believe that many a born genius cannot serve our country only because of want of educational facilities at the very beginning of his

or her career. But intellect alone is not sufficient to build up a nation. To it must be added the moral element.

Mahatma Gandhi realised what damage is being done today to our motherland by the organised sale by Government of drink and drugs and hence his advice to his lieutenants that, as soon as political power came to their hands, they should introduce prohibition at any cost—a behest that was carried out loyally in every Congress province. Lastly, we have the Harijan Sewak Sangh which aims at removing untouchability and to the funds of which the profits of the book in which these lines appear will be devoted.

Starting with the problem of the use of drink and drugs, our students can utilise the influence they possess over the uneducated by pointing out to the edicts, the moral, the physical and the economic evil effects following from the use of these injurious substances. It may interest my readers to learn that at Lahore, there is an earnest band of Indian Christian young men who visit the areas inhabited by day labourers, domestic servants, etc., and where they systematically preach prohibition with remarkable success. I have come across another very earnest band of student and non-student

workers in Hyderabad-Secundrabad in the Nizam's Dominions engaged in the same type of activity. This is the kind of patriotic work in which I should like to see our younger generation engaged.

Probably every one interested in the literacy campaign is familiar with at least the name of the American expert Dr Laubach, author of that well-known book "Towards a Literate World" in which he tells us how the foundations of the mass literacy movement were first laid by him and his companions in the Philippines in 1929. Here the success achieved was phenomenal and he went to Malaya and thence to East Africa where he had been summoned to give his advice on this matter.

Dr Laubach paid three visits to India during 1933-39. He has told us that in 1933 the people of India were so pessimistic about the mass literacy movement that very few were ready to work for it. In 1936-37 he found some successful experiments specially in the Andhra area. In this last visit he found the literacy movement adopted in practically every part of India. In the course of an interview to the Press he said that 92 per cent of the people of India were still unable to read and write and that the social reconstruction of India is impossible unless they become literate. Continuing

he observed, "We cannot depend on paid teachers for the success of this movement. Every educated man and woman owed to India a patriotic duty to teach the illiterates. If everybody would teach one illiterate a year, India would be completely literate within five years, 8 p.c., read now, next year 16 p.c. would read, the following year 32 per cent, the fourth year 64 per cent and fifth year 128 per cent. We have discovered very easy methods. All that is needed now is real practical patriotism. Given that, this gigantic handicap can be removed in our generation."

Within the last year I have visited every province of British India except Sind and North-West Frontier Province and as I take great interest in the mass literacy movement, I have tried to secure the latest information available on this matter. I have been told that reading matter, charts, etc., are now available in every major as well as in most of the minor vernaculars. We are all aware that illiteracy lies at the root of practically all our economic, social and political ills and that they can be got rid of only when our country is literate. We also know that the efforts of paid teachers for over a century have made approximately only 8 per cent of the population literate. Dr Laubach has told

us that India which contains fully 270 million illiterates can be made literate if only we could secure the honorary services of educated people. Today in India the number of students in the higher classes of our schools and colleges is approximately 5 lakhs. If the country could only get their assistance in this great work, we could see a wonderful transformation within the next decade or so at the utmost.

We are all aware that today our motherland is being torn asunder by conflicting interests and that our political advancement is being torn asunder by conflicting interests and that our political advancement is being largely hindered by internal dissensions which are poisoning our public life. In the majority community, there is misunderstanding between the Caste and the Scheduled Caste Hindu. Much of the antagonism which the latter is showing is due to the remembrance of the injustice to which the latter community had been exposed in the past. It is also correct to say that this social injustice has not disappeared even now.

Mahatma Gandhi has done more than any other Hindu in initiating a movement which is tending to not only establish peace between the warring social groups but also to restore self-res-

pect to our humbler and less fortunate brethren. Whatever might be the value of inter-dining, there is no doubt that the temple-entry movement has done more than any other single measure to win the loyalty and the love of the Scheduled castes for the Harijan Sewak Sangh.

Cannot the younger generation help forward this great task of seeing that justice is done to those who, through no fault of their own, are penalised only because they happen to be members of a particular social group? Surely the idealism which finds its most natural home in the heart of the young should enable students as a class to take part in the activities of this organisation. I have seen high caste students of Madras, Bombay, Nagpur and Cuttack doing this. Doubtless, there are similar students' organisations in other parts of India with which I have come in contact. What I would like to see is that everywhere the younger generation should undertake this work on a mass scale and abolish untouchability in one generation.

As an old teacher with 42 years' experience behind me, I have come to the definite conclusion that while the student community have every right to take a lively interest in the political problems of our motherland their fundamental duty, as

students, is to devote all their energies to the work for which they come to educational institutions. By all means they should enjoy the fullest possible freedom in discussing the political problems of the hour as they present themselves from time to time. But, in my view, they should wait till they are sufficiently mature in the intellectual sense to come to a wise decision. So long as they are young and impulsive, they are apt to be carried away by slogans which now and again tend to lead them astray. It is therefore incumbent on them to wait for this maturity before they should permit themselves to take any active part in party politics. Interest in the social, the economic and the political problems of the day is one thing and active participation in political conflicts is a different matter. Students as the voters and leaders of tomorrow should study the various problems of citizenship but this does not imply that they should permit themselves to be diverted from the purpose which has brought them into educational institutions.

I have been very deeply pained by what happened quite recently in Bengal when Mahatma Gandhi and many prominent members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh came to our province in connection with the annual session of this organisation

which was held in February last, at a village in East Bengal. It has been reported that black flags and placards with objectionable slogans were waved before our guests and that the situation deteriorated to such an extent that there was a knife-attack on some of the volunteers and an attempt was made to set fire to the exhibition organised as a part of the function. There is also a rumour which I trust is baseless that a shoe was thrown in the compartment occupied by our guests. Reliable and authenticated accounts are not yet to hand and I am not, therefore, in a position to state to what extent the reports which have come to me are true. It may be that not all those guilty of this conduct are students but there is no doubt that nearly all of them are young and that even if they are not students today, they were students not very long ago. But, as there can be no smoke without fire, I am certain that there is a substratum of truth in what every rightminded Bengali has heard with the deepest abhorrence.

This is all the more regrettable because all Nationalist papers of Bengal published in English and in Bengali had counselled courtesy while Syt Subhas Chandra Bose, the most popular leader of the extreme leftist youth of Bengal, issued appeal

after appeal to his followers to show proper courtesy to our guests from other provinces.

For years, many of our leaders have courted youth and flattered it in order to increase the importance of the movements they sponsored by making it appear that they had a large backing. Today, the younger generation is no longer prepared to offer implicit obedience. It refuses to obey each and every order issued by the leaders and carries out only those with which it is in sympathy and hence the treatment extended to our guests. And the leaders of youth must, by this time, have realised that it is easier to inflame passions than to allay them.

Profound as my veneration is for Mahatma Gandhi, I cannot forget that he made the mistake of calling out our students from educational institutions about twenty years ago and that the more hot-headed among our leaders are today following the old technique which he, the originator, has discarded. That I am correct in my opinion is abundantly evident by what he wrote in his article entitled "The Dissentients" which appeared in the Harijan of the 20th January, 1940. Referring to a prominent leader of the Congress Socialist Party who advocated that in order to make the

celebration of Independence Day a success students should come out of their schools and colleges on that day and that workmen should lay their tools, Gandhiji observed, "This is a lesson in indiscipline. If I had my way I would invite every student to remain in his school or college unless he got leave or the Principal decided to close the college or school in order to take part in the celebration. I should give similar advice to the workmen."

Speaking as an old teacher, I am compelled to say that I have seen so many hundreds of young and promising lives irretrievably ruined and their usefulness utterly destroyed by hasty action of this type, that I would implore all our young people not to be carried away by temporary excitement. It would, in my opinion, be wiser to prepare themselves for public work by practical nationalism, by devoting a fraction of their spare time and spare energy to one or other types of the constructive work referred to previously.

Taking part in such activities will not interfere unduly with their day to day work as students and, at the same time will afford them an opportunity of acquiring very useful training for national service in their future life. This I regard as the most valuable aspect of this type of work. It will enable

them to come in contact with the masses, to appreciate their difficulties, to sympathise with them and to win their love and affection. The qualities of leadership they will develop will be an invaluable asset in their future career in national service. It will enable them to realise through personal experience that true leadership consists not in the utterance of popular catchwords but in service freely offered and cheerfully accepted by our poorer brethren who have now come to feel that they are approached by the rich, the powerful and the educated only when an election is on and their votes are required to secure a seat in some public body. The only method now left open to remove this feeling is by actual service. And the young man who is looking forward to serving his motherland either through a local organisation or in the legislature would do well to lay the foundations of his future public career on the affections of the masses by sincerely serving them at a time when there can possibly be no question of securing votes by making wild promises which every one including himself knows are incapable of fulfilment.

Every Indian is aware to what extent our political progress is being hindered by communal ill-feeling. Various methods for combating this

evil have been suggested. So far the student community is concerned, we are told that younger generation belonging to all social and religious groups should be taught together in non-communal institutions, that they should live and eat together in common hostels and take part in games and physical activities in the same playgrounds. Practical experience has undoubtedly demonstrated the value of this suggestion and it is a fact that, under these circumstances, there is absence of communal misunderstanding at least so long as they live and work together under these conditions.

I contend that this good work will have a more lasting effect if students would go further and engage in ameliorative work of the types referred to already. When educated men and young women devote their spare time and energy to this kind of work, they quite naturally make no distinction as regards the caste and creed of those whom they seek to benefit. The consequence of this attitude is that the Hindu student shows his interest in the welfare of the non-Hindu, in just the same way as the Muslim student concerns himself with the welfare of the non-Muslim. Naturally, a similar policy must also be followed by the Christian, the Sikh and the Parsi student. If this line of action

is carried out loyally by students of all social and religious groups and if they are impartial in offering their services cheerfully to the masses irrespective of the faith professed by them, the antagonisms now existing between different groups cannot but gradually disappear and the time must ultimately come when all will stand on a common platform and recognise the fact that assistance is rendered and accepted as both the benefactor and the benefited are Indians first to last between whom no distinction is made on account of the profession of a particular faith which is a purely personal matter with every one.

It is possible that I am over-sanguine in expecting such apparently impossible results from the line of action outlined above but I have very often thought that the emphasis Mahatma Gandhi is laying on the constructive work of the Congress is at least partly to be explained by the expectation he has of the effects of the faithful carrying out of this plan of action. I am convinced that there is no short cut to the establishment of communal harmony and that strenuous efforts will have to be put forth by every patriotic son and daughter of India. And here, I maintain, is an opportunity for patriotic students to serve their motherland in

one of the most effective of ways without stepping outside the bounds of scholastic requirements.

Let me conclude by quoting for the benefit of my readers only a part of the very wise advice given to students by Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the best friend and wisest leader of the youthful India, when he came to Calcutta towards the beginning of January 1939. In his speech delivered on the closing day of the Cultural Conference he observed, "The real joy in life is to work for a great purpose, to understand it and put all the strength and energy of the integrated personality into it. Therein you will experience the full joy of achievement."

Commenting on this part of his speech, one of our nationalist dailies observed:—"These are words that should infuse a new life, a new impetus to all our students and young men." This is the ideal which all of us including the younger generation, should treasure in our hearts for they go to the very roots of the matter and state in no uncertain terms the best method of serving ourselves and our motherland and in ways to which no legitimate objection can be taken from any quarter and by any fair-minded man.

XXXV

SRIMATI LILAVATI MUNSHI

[*Bombay*]

You have first asked the question that what is the first and foremost duty of the students. To my mind their first and foremost duty is to develop their own manhood. In answering the second question I shall say that they should act in every situation with discipline. Without discipline they will not be able to attain anything.

There are some more questions in your letter. You ask what should be their attitude in the time of war and peace. It is a very wide question. If it is a war in defence of their own country, they must join the army and help the soldiers. If it is peace in their motherland, they should help in every way to further the progress of the nation.

The aim and ideal of their life should be to help others. Their duty towards their motherland is quite plain and simple, *i.e.*, to live for it and when necessary they should know how to die for

it. Their duty towards their neighbour countries will be: if they are peaceful, be friendly with them; if they are not, stand up for your rights and defend them. This will be in short my advice to the students.

XXXVI

GILBERT MURRAY

[Professor Emeritus, Oxford University]

It is very difficult to give a general message which can give any practical guidance to young men or others in their actual difficulties; but the chief change of mind which has been brought about in me by the Great War and the disasters that have followed it, is that where formerly I laid great stress on independence, I now feel more clearly the need for co-operation; where I formerly laid stress on freedom and nationality, I now see more the importance of world citizenship and brotherhood.

XXXVII

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

India at present is a peculiar country and the questions that are raised surprise one. Some even argue that the independence of India is bad for India; that something less than independence is in reality more than it. Not being metaphysically inclined I find some difficulty in understanding these abstruse problems. Yet another peculiar question relates to students and politics. 'Students must not take part in politics' some say. What is politics? According to the usual interpretation in India (official India), to assist or support the Government in any way is not politics; but it is politics to criticise or work against the existing order in India.

Who are the students? They may be children in the elementary schools or young men and women in colleges. Obviously the same considerations cannot apply to both.

Quite a large number of senior students today possess a vote for the provincial elections. To vote is to take part in politics; to vote intelligently

necessitates the understanding of political issues; to understand political issues results usually in accepting a certain political policy; and if one accepts that policy it is the duty of the citizen to push that policy, to try to convert others to it. Thus inevitably a voter must be a politician; and he should be an ardent politician if he is a keen citizen. Only those who lack the political or social sense can remain passive and neutral or indifferent.

Even apart from his duty as a voter, every student must if he is properly trained, prepare himself for life and its problems. Otherwise his education has been a wasted effort. Politics and economics deal with these problems and no person is properly educated unless he understands them. Perhaps it is difficult for most people to see a clear path through life's jungle. But whether we know the solution of the problem or not, we must at least know the nature of it. What are the questions that life puts to us? The answers may be difficult, but the curious thing is that people seek to answer without knowing the real questions. No serious or thinking student can take up this futile attitude.

The various 'isms' that play such an important part in the world today—nationalism, liberalism, socialism, communism, imperialism, fascism, etc.,

are efforts on the part of various groups to answer these questions. Which answer is correct? Or, are they all steeped in error? In any event we have to choose and in order to choose we must know and have the capacity to choose correctly. This cannot be done if there are repressions and suppressions of thought and action. It cannot be done properly if High Authority sits on us and prevents the free play of the mind.

Thus it becomes necessary for all thinking individuals, and more so for the student than for others, to take the fullest theoretical part in politics. Naturally this will apply to the senior students at life's threshold rather than the junior ones who are still far from these problems. But a theoretical consideration is not enough for a proper understanding; even theory requires practice. From the point of view of study alone the student must leave his lecture halls and investigate reality in village and town, in field and factory, to take part to some extent in the various activities of the people, including political activities.

One has ordinarily to draw the line somewhere. A student's first business is to train his mind and body and make them efficient instruments for thought, understanding and action. Before he is

trained he cannot think or act effectively. Yet the training itself comes not from listening to pious advice, but by indulging in action to some extent. That action under normal conditions, must be subordinated to the theoretical training. But it cannot be eliminated or else the training itself is deficient.

It is our misfortune that in India our educational system is thoroughly lop-sided. But an even greater misfortune is the highly authoritarian atmosphere that surrounds it. Not in education alone, but everywhere in India, red-liveried, pompous and often emptyheaded Authority seeks to mould people after its own pattern and prevent the growth of the mind and the spread of ideas. We have seen how this Authority has made a mess of things even in the realm of sport and our cricket team in England, full of brilliant players, was effectively hamstrung by the ignorant nobodies who controlled it. Genius was sacrificed so that Authority might triumph. In our universities this spirit of authority reigns supreme and, in the name of discipline, comes down heavily on any who do not meekly obey. 'They do not like the qualities that are encouraged in free countries, the spirit of daring, the adventures of the soul

in unchartered regions. Is it surprising then that we do not produce many men and women who seek to conquer the Poles or Everest, to control the elements and bring them to man's use, to hurl defiance at man's ignorance and timidity and inertia and littleness and try to raise him up to the stars?

Must students take part in politics? Must they take part in life, a full wholesome part in life's varied activities, or be of the clerkly breed, carrying out orders from above? As students they cannot keep out of politics, as Indian students even more so they must keep touch with them. Yet it is true that normally the training of their minds and bodies must be their principal consideration during this period of their growth. They must observe a certain discipline but that discipline should not be such as crushes the mind and kills the spirit.

So, normally. But abnormal conditions come when all normal rules are swept away. During the Great War where were the students of England, France and Germany? Not in their colleges but in the trenches, facing and meeting death.

A subject country is always to some extent in an abnormal condition. So is India today. And in considering these problems we must also consider our environments and the growing abnor-

mality in the world. And as we seek to understand we are driven to take part, however little it might be, in the chapter of events.

XXXVIII

R. P. PARANJPYE

[*President, Indian National Liberal Federation*]

In my opinion the students would do well to concentrate on their proper work, making themselves fit to take their proper place in the life of the country by acquiring habits of discipline, independent thought and sustained work. One need not shout out his patriotism from the house tops; very often it is mere words without the substance. They should cultivate a real love for their country by learning to understand others, by giving up narrow communal or provincial ideas and by seeing the real life of the people who live in villages. They should learn to acquire new ideas while keeping a firm hold on all that is good in the old. All this will not immediately get their names in the newspapers or win cheers from the crowds, but it is ultimately far more useful. They should think on the problems of their country but must realise that in their state of development they are

not necessarily competent to reach correct conclusions. Finally they should imbibe a spirit of tolerance, realising that we are liable to err, even the youngest of us.

XXXIX

HENRY S. L. POLAK

What message have I for the youth of India ? What message did I receive as a youth ? I recall now, when a lad of 17, my dearest friend, the head of an Evening Commercial School in London, had rendered me a great service, and I had asked him how I could repay him for his kindness. His reply has ever since remained in my memory. "Pass it on to some other young man in the future, when you have the opportunity."

The first thing that I would say to an Indian youth is that the best repayment that he can make to all those who helped to build up the great treasure of Indian culture that he has inherited from them is not to dissipate it, but to add something to it, so that the next generation of Indian youth may be more greatly enriched by his gift.

I recall the great and happy days of my youth and young manhood under the stimulating leadership of Gandhiji in South Africa. I was little more than 21 when I first met him, and it was through

him that my aspiration for public service, and especially the service of the poor, were for many years fulfilled. It was under his inspiration that I was enabled to help in the ending of the old indentured labour system and the freeing of its victims.

If, then, there is one piece of advice more than another that I would give to the youth of India, it is that they should study the life and activities of that greatest of modern Indians, observe his eagerness to bring health and joy and hope into the lives of the very poor, ponder his insistence upon the renewal of life and the multiplying of new fields of work in India's villages, and then go and stay in those villages, learning from the villagers their wisdom and skill in the art of and craft of living, and passing on to them the practical result of their own study. If the educated youth of India will make this sacrifice and regard as the fulfilment of their highest ambition the re-construction of village-India, they will have restored to the Motherland her freedom and independence and made of her once more a First Class Power for good.

XL

SRI PRAKASA, M.L.A.

I agree with you that the position in which students find themselves is a very difficult and delicate one, due to conflict of loyalties and a clash of responsibilities, with the peculiar phenomena in front of them of noble aspirations that are likely to lead them into the wilderness on the one hand, and the limitations of domestic and economic circumstances which force them to suppress themselves on the other. They without doubt find themselves in a very unhappy uncertain position. The only thing that I can at all suggest is for every single student to examine his own temperament, his responsibilities and his capacity to face the consequences of his actions very very carefully. He should stick fast to the duty which he thinks is his after such an analysis. I am confident that if he undergoes such searching self-examination and decides upon his course of action after it, he can never go wrong, because in whatever he may then

do, he will have the happiness of self-choice and self-satisfaction.

To my mind the sole end of all education is and can only be to enable an individual to find his nitch in life so that he might be able to make himself most useful to himself, his family and his society. Each student has to examine his own nature carefully and to decide upon his line of activity at a fairly early stage. When once he has decided it, he has to stick to it despite all dangers and difficulties and thus make himself a useful citizen. Every citizen who does his duty properly; who is responsible and reliable; who is efficient and trustworthy; is a patriot and contributes his mite to the general good. He serves as well as any other towards the bringing in of true Swaraj. I therefore do not feel so confused at the various problems which according to you beset a student, as others seem to do.

I agree with you that we are face to face with a crisis and the problem that it presents needs to be tackled by all including students. But if we set ourselves about in true, earnest and humble spirit I think we shall be able to surmount all our difficulties easily and effectively. The great thing is to be honest. I very much doubt if we including

students are really honest. While we talk big, at the one end feel ourselves great patriots simply because we talk so big; at the other we are trying to build up for ourselves high worldly positions in which we should enjoy the splendour of wealth and domestic felicity, as well as exercise great power and attain great fame, without really having much to do in the form of hard work. We are always prone to blame others for not being able to fulfil our own ambitions, while we ourselves grossly neglect all our duties and responsibilities. We all seem to have lost the simple virtue of common honesty and a sense of values and proposition and to my mind that is the cause of all the confusion that exists both in the subjective as well as the bojective world that surrounds us.

The sum-total of my own life's experience—if you must have it—is just this that we want nothing more than just simple citizens in every walk of human endeavour; and the one thing that we lack is just these simple citizens. Therefore my one advice to every one can only be: Be a good citizen; that is; know your work well; grasp all its details; work hard; be proud of your work; and be reliable and trustworthy in all that you do.

XLI

SIR C. V. RAMAN, F.R.S., N.L.

[Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore]

In my view, our young countrymen have a bright future before them if only they would recognise the dignity of labour. Nothing worthwhile was ever achieved without strenuous work. Our youth must set aside slothfulness and love of ease and determine to exert themselves. They have, of course, to learn self-reliance. Ambition, courage and enthusiasm lead to success while weakness and indecision take one straight to failure. Most of all, we should set reason above emotion. Only a weak mind allows itself to be swung hither and thither by the winds of uncontrolled passion. With reason at the helm, the ship of human destiny sails straight to port.

XLII

P. KODANDA RAO

[*Servants of India Society, Nagpur*]

It is more because my friend, Kunwar Madhavendra P. N. Singh is irresistible than because I am among those who have a message to give, which will be listened to by modern youth, that I submit the following considerations.

One of the most potent causes of conflicts in India, as elsewhere, is the very common belief that certain groups of individuals, particularly nations and races, have specific cultures or civilisations, and that the coming together of the several peoples leads to clash of their cultures, and therefore to a conflict of the peoples themselves. For instance, humanity is divided into numerous groups, whose cultures are either Western or Eastern, Nordic or Jewish, white, black or brown, Christian or heathen, civilized or primitive, British, French, German, Indian, Chinese or Japanese. Peoples of the East have been warned against Western

civilization and peoples of the West have been warned against Orientalization. The British Dominions have closed their doors to the immigration of Asiatics, lest there should be clash between the civilization of the two. The maintenance of Western standards of life by legitimate means is the agreed basis for the convocation of the Round Table Conference in Cape Town between the Governments of India and South Africa.

Anthropologists have been called in to advise the civilized nations in governing the primitive peoples. Much of the so-called minority problems in Europe and India have their basis in the fear that the cultures of the minorities were threatened by the cultures of the majorities. Much of the conflict between the Hindus and Muslims in India sometimes leading to bloodshed, is due to the fear of the Muslims that their culture would be destroyed by the Hindus. Urdu, claimed as the language of the Muslims, would be displaced by Hindi, claimed as the language of the Hindus. In all these innumerable other cases, the presumption is that there are groups of peoples, each with a distinctive culture, and that the contact of the peoples will lead to a clash of their cultures and in consequence to the conflicts of the peoples themselves.

But is the basic concept true that a certain set of people have a culture as their very own? It may be helpful to examine an instance or two. It is very often said that industrialism is Western. In the first place, in so far as industrialism is Western, it can never be Eastern if it can be shared by both the East and the West, it cannot be the exclusive mark of the West. When it is shared by both, it is not characteristic of either, but of both. Since industrialism has spread to the East, it is not Western; at any rate, it is no longer Western. In the second place, even the West had no industrialism a few centuries ago, notwithstanding that the West was Western even then. Considering that the West had no industrialism some time ago and the East has it today, it only means that the West had an earlier start in industrialism than the East. When both East and West share the same culture factor, there need be no clash between them.

Is Urdu Muslim and Hindi Hindu? There are Muslims who do not speak Urdu, as for instance, the Muslims from Morocco in the west to Malaya, Java, China and the Phillipines in the east. In India itself there are Muslims who do not speak Urdu as their mother tongue, as for instance the Mopalas of Malabar, the Muslims of South India,

of Gujrat and Bengal. There are non-Muslims who speak Urdu even as their mother-tongue, as, for instance the Hindus of Kashmir, Delhi, and Lucknow. Urdu is a language, but not a Muslim language. Moreover, Urdu is not the special property of the Muslims which non-Muslims may not acquire without a diminution of Muslims' share. If a person shares his property with another his own part will be reduced to that extent; but if he shares his language with another, there will be two people who will now know that language. Furthermore, nobody is born with a language; everybody has to learn it. And anybody can learn it, provided he has facilities for it.

It is wholly unscientific to speak of and foolish to fight over, *my language* and *your language* as if I was born with my language which you may not learn or you were born with a language which I may not learn. A language is neither mine nor yours in any exclusive sense. Any language belongs to him who learns it. English belongs to him who learns it, and not exclusively to Englishmen born in England. An Indian may acquire more of it than most Englishmen.

Thus it is with all elements of culture or civilization. While property is an element of culture,

culture is not property. There can be ownership in property but not in culture. Hence the question of *your culture* and *my culture* does not arise. There are innumerable and ever increasing cultural elements. Every one of them is the inheritance of everybody who cares to acquire it. We may fight over property which we can own exclusively, but not over culture, which in its nature cannot be owned much less exclusively. Contact of peoples need not lead to clashes of cultures and conflict of peoples. Each one of us is heir to every cultural element. There is no *mine* and *thine* in culture, no foreign and indigenous cultures but only old and new, already acquired or yet unacquired.

XLIII

M. N. ROY

The first and foremost duty of students is to study. Study, however, need not and should not be circumscribed by the text-books. As a matter of fact, the college or university curriculum does not provide the students with the sort of knowledge that they should have in order to prepare themselves for facing the serious problems of our time. Our country is passing through a crisis, experienced in the life of every people. The nature of this crisis must be understood before the way out of it can be discovered. If the students perform their function, they will be able to contribute to the proper understanding of the nature of the crisis. The spirit of enquiry should be the guiding principle of a student. The main question before us today is not how to maintain the *status quo* but how to replace a decayed order by a new system based on new relations and new standards of value. The aim and ideal of any body's life is to live like a human being. In order to attain that aim, we must

look around ourselves to ascertain if under the given conditions of our country the average man and woman can live the kind of life which enables one to develop all the latent intellectual, moral and spiritual potentialities. A realistic view of the conditions of our country will convince one that they are not conducive to a human existence. They are degrading and brutalising human existence. They must be changed. What must be done for that purpose? The students must find that out. Having done that, they must prepare themselves to undertake that task. It is a revolutionary task. Our country needs a revolution. The students must develop a revolutionary mentality and revolutionary temperament. They should study only such kind of stuff as will help them in that respect.

XLIV

PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

You all know that the Congress represents the best national aspirations. It is presumed you know also the dual programme of the Congress: constructive and fighting. It is to be further presumed that you have accepted and decided to follow the constructive programme. It is only then that you can have doubts. Else all doubts are insincere and all advice is a waste. Now therefore you start with wearing of Khaddar, removal of untouchability and abolition of drink and striving for communal unity. When you have laboured in these four fields you will not have much doubts in your own mind as to whether you should participate in a programme of the Congress or not. Your inner voice will be your sole judge.

XLV

P. SESHADRI, M. B. E.

[*Principal, Government College, Ajmer*]

I am happy to state I have never had serious conflicts in my mind regarding the duties of students. During three decades of educational life, I have always advocated that the primary duty of students is to be good *students* and equip themselves for national service in some sphere or other. The motherland requires, I may add, not immature enthusiasts bubbling over with mere sentiment, but sons robust in body, mind and character, efficient in the highest degree and capable of advancing their country, in however humble a measure as possible. The ideal to keep constantly in mind is: "Am I laying the foundations of a greater future for my country?" When this is possible only by one's own improvement, it will be realised that everything has to be gained by the pursuit of such an ideal.

One of the first gospels to preach to young

people is that of the *Strenuous Life*, taught so eloquently by the late President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States. Youth is not the time for a soft life. Our young men are often inclined to be lazy and that is a temptation to be closely guarded against. A lazy man never accomplished anything valuable in life and the moments of youth are so precious that none of them can afford to be wasted.

Akin to this is the need of training oneself in the spirit of *service*, an aspect of education not looked after very much yet in our schools and colleges. Individuals should have the laudable ambition of doing something for others in the course of their lives, besides merely looking after their own interests and of those near and dear to them. All is not right with the world, in spite of what the poet has said and the scope for social service is therefore immense. To feed the hungry, to clothe the naked and shelter the houseless is a task which should appeal to every individual and there are a thousand little acts of charity which often come within the range of possibilities even without much effort.

Writing specially for the benefit of Indian students, it is difficult not to mention the need for cultivating a *rational* outlook on social and religious

matters. India is still steeped, as far as the general masses are concerned, in mediaeval superstition. Any being therefore who enables the multitude to see Reason and have the courage to give up superstitious beliefs and practices will have done much for the advancement of the country. There is no country which calls itself civilised today which is handicapped with so much superstition as India and there is no chance of her taking her proper place among the nations, unless she inaugurates a new era in the matter.

Guidance from the elders has of course its value but youth must follow the generous, enthusiastic instincts it has and always be up and doing. It is not much use trying to find out what exactly the student should do. He may often be like the parent who went to Dr Johnson for advice, as to what subject he should first teach his child and what next. Dr Johnson thought there was not much point in such doubts. It is like trying to find out, he said, what leg he should first put into his trousers when dressing; by the time he has decided about the matter, another has probably dressed and gone about his business.

XLVI

P. SUBBARAYAN

[*Ex-Education Minister, Madras*]

I personally feel that there should be no repression of opinion among our students. They should be free to study politics in all its aspects, though as long as they remain in school or college, I feel they should devote themselves more to their studies than to any active participation in politics. They should certainly be thinking of their country and its struggle for freedom and prepare themselves for any work they wish to do in future in the regeneration of their country.

XLVII

D. S. SARMA, M.A.

[Principal, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras]

The first and foremost duty of students in colleges is, of course, to pay attention to their studies and cultivate a strictly academic spirit. They should learn to discuss calmly and dispassionately all sides of a question whether political, social or religious, and be guided by their teachers. They should always act on the principle that discipline is the only way to freedom. And above all they should avoid communalism as poison. They should look upon all communities in India as members of a joint family and service to the motherland as a whole as a sacred duty. In religious matters they should learn to combine intense love of their own religion with profound respect for the religion of others. In all these things their great exemplar should be Mahatma Gandhi.

XLVIII

M. N. SAHA, D.SC., F.R.S.

[*Calcutta University, Calcutta*]

I cannot think of a better message than that contained in the following lines of Longfellow:—

“Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate
Still achieving, still pursuing
Learn to labour and to wait”.

XLIX

L. DUDLEY STAMP

[*University of London*]

The first and foremost duty of the student is to acquire knowledge and to use that knowledge intelligently and sympathetically whether it be in trying to understand the affairs of the world or in carrying out a particular job in the world. A little learning is a dangerous thing; too often the less knowledge we have, the more we are inclined to be harsh and dogmatic in our opinions and judgments. No thoughtful man ever ceases to be a student; all his life he is acquiring a better knowledge and a better understanding. No one is a greater menace than he who ceases to be teachable.

What should be our relations with and duties towards our motherland and our neighbours? Our attitude to others, whether other individuals, or other nations, should be to live and let live. Our bitterest enemies—as in religion and politics—are so often sincere in their purpose that if we try

through an application of knowledge to understand the other point of view enmity ceases.

What should be the ideal of our life? Surely to do something to help in the peace, progress and prosperity of our fellow beings and so of the world as a whole. Let us pursue with all our might what we believe to be our ideals but let us stop at once as soon as we find that in the pursuit of our ideals we are causing hurt to others.

In the long run no lasting good comes from the use of force whether in war or civil strife. Every man must defend his own home and his own land when he is attacked, if he finds that this is the only policy. But let us always beware of attempting to force our opinions on others just because we think we are in the right.

L

DIWAN BAHADUR HARBILAS SARDA

The first and foremost duty of students receiving education in public schools and colleges is to devote their time and attention to their studies, to prepare themselves for the great task which lies before them in life. They must devote themselves to their studies and observe the discipline they are required to undergo, so that they may be properly equipped to do the work for which they have to come into the world. Student life, education, training are all means and not ends in themselves—means to acquire the necessary knowledge of what one's duty in life is, and also to acquire the ability, the strength and the will to do that duty. Life itself is a duty—duty to oneself first, and then to all with whom one has anything to do—parents, children, friends, motherland and fellowmen.

Every one must lay more stress on forming one's character than acquiring mere knowledge. Character is valuable: without character, knowledge

is not of much use. Character is necessary to enable one to do one's duty.

The aim and ideal of life is to fulfil the purpose of life. The purpose will appear differently to different persons in varying circumstances. Every one has to do one's duty to one's motherland and to one's people. Duty to one's motherland is duty to one's ownself. One is a part of one's motherland, and one's duty to one's motherland is therefore a primary duty. No one however can do his duty to his motherland unless and until he realises it and feels an inner urge to do that duty, because duty to the motherland can be done only at some sacrifice—sacrifice of wealth, property, comfort, time, energy—and often involves, pain and suffering. Just as a man being a part of a country has a duty to his country, so has a man as part of humanity, a duty towards humanity, mankind. He has a duty to his country as well as to humanity in general. There can be no conflict between these duties. One of the criterions to judge one's duty to one's country in the times of stress is to see that he does not do anything which would be a breach of his duty to humanity. If an act is detrimental to humanity, it cannot be his duty to his country to do it. Humanity is made up of individual men and

humanity can only be served by individuals acting singly or in groups. In the same way motherland can be served only by the people of the land, sons of the mother. Every individual is in debt to his motherland that gave him birth and nurtured him; and every individual has to repay the debt. That repayment is the duty. In order to know what is one's duty one must have knowledge and a trained intelligence and judgment. And the first duty of a student is to acquire knowledge and develop his intellectual and moral faculties in order to know and judge what his duty generally is and what his duty in given circumstances would be. And he must train himself and undergo discipline to have the will and the strength to do his duty.

My experience of my own student life and my knowledge of the lives of students generally is that there is an appalling waste of time, and if I am asked to give one advice to students it will be, "Take life seriously and don't waste time." Life is short and time is the most precious thing in life.

LI

SAMPURNANAND

[*Ex-Education Minister, U. P.*]

Everyone who takes the trouble to think for himself will realize that we, the whole civilized world and India, consequently as an impartial integral part of it, are in the midst of a great crisis. It may be that the war has intensified this crisis and, in any case, brought it home even to those who were not, previously, prepared to give themselves the trouble of facing unpleasant facts or following discomforting thoughts to their logical conclusions. This can no longer be avoided, now. The war and the innumerable physical restraints and discomforts which follow in its train and the sacrifices it entails cannot be ignored and compel us to think.

The crisis is not merely political, it is economic and social. In fact what is happening in the political sphere is really a manifestation of deep-lying economic and social causes. The tremendous

strains imposed on our nerves *constantly* and in endless variety by our socio-economic environment had become almost maddening, and war seems almost a welcome relief, purely from an emotional viewpoint. Here conventional thinking in terms of traditional slogans and catch-phrases will not carry us very far: it will help us neither in tracing the etiology of the disease nor in working out a cure.

I feel that the best way in which the younger generation can help us in this critical period is to study it. Is humanity to relapse after it, into an armed truce, miscalled peace? Are the socio-economic mal-adjustments that gave rise to it to continue to rack our nerves and fray our tempers, till another war is started as the only possible solution? Are the splendid achievements of Science to be harnessed, as before, to perpetuate slavery and exploitation? Is unemployment and the sense of vacuity and frustration which it produces still to be the destiny of millions? Is religion a spent force? Which if any among the compelling faiths and idealisms provides the most equitable basis for the Society of the future or is such a basis to be found in some possible synthesis of all these? How is a world culture and a world society to be built up while yet preserving the individualities

of its various components? These and many other questions, similar and allied, will suggest themselves and clamour for solution.

Again, what are the standards by which men's actions are to be judged? It will not do to talk glibly of right and wrong, virtue and vice. These words have associations with certain socio-economic environments. The old values for which they stand have lost their potency in the world of today. New criteria will have to be evolved or we shall soon find ourselves judging one another by codes of manners and morals having no relations with real life. And what is true of the ethical code is equally true of the law.

The student, if he is to lead a rational life and a socially useful one, must, therefore, study all these problems. Today others are grappling with them; tomorrow this responsibility will be his. He must, while yet there is time, equip himself thoroughly for this task. Philosophy, art, literature, history, science, politics, psychology, ethics, economics, law, all the subjects which deal with the various activities of man are legitimate subjects of study. To neglect any one aspect of human life from a priori considerations of its inferiority or unimportance will be to get a distorted vision and an in-

complete picture and, consequently, to attempt to base a synthesis on insufficient data.

But it must be remembered that the best way to study man is to study him in the life. At times of great national emergency, it may become necessary for the student to forsake his books and take an active part in political struggles. But quite apart from this, there are ever so many opportunities of coming into contact with men, as individuals and in the mass, ever so many opportunities of serving them and winning their confidence, of entering into their minds and sharing their thoughts and feelings, of watching their reactions to political appeals, to measures of legislation to the preachings of social and religious reformers. This is the one laboratory in which the student can test his theories and formulate his own doctrines.

Such study requires patience and tact. It requires courage, reverence and faith. And, above all, it requires steadiness. It is easy to traffic in cheap slogans and ease the qualms on one's conscience by engaging for short periods in feverish activity of one kind or another. But drugging oneself with such intellectual opiates is no preparation for a socially useful life. I sincerely trust that our young men will realize the seriousness of the

situation that faces them and prepare themselves, with all earnestness, for the day, not very distant, when they will have to shoulder the responsibilities of lifting humanity from the moraine in which it finds itself today.

LII

SIR MAHARAJ SINGH, C.I.E.

I have been asked by Kunwar Madhavendra P. N. Singh to send to him my opinion on the duties and responsibilities of students at this time.

Very briefly I would say that what the average student requires is concentration on his studies, avoidance of communal feeling, readiness to make admissions against himself and last but not least, love of his country.

LIII

K. G. SAIYIDAIN

[*Director of Education, Kashmir State*]

The quick and far-reaching changes that are taking place in the structure of our economic, social, political and cultural life are creating manifold difficulties and problems for the youth of the country. In the case of the preceding generations, the tempo of these changes had not been so quick and, therefore, the principles and practices of each generation have provided some sort of a chart whereby their successors were able to steer their courses. But now that the advance of scientific and industrial technique is linking up classes and groups and nations into new relationships and bringing them into new and unforeseen conflicts, it is becoming far more difficult for youth to adjust itself to this changing kaleidoscope. The problem is further complicated by the fact that no rules and regulations of universal applicability can be laid down by even the highest authorities because the problems of

each individual are peculiar to himself and he must work out his solution in the light of his special circumstances. But it appears to me that there are some principles which, with regard to the questions that this publication raises, may be regarded as significant and directive. I summarise them briefly below:—

1. So far as the question of the foremost duty of individuals in the present crisis and the definition of the aim and ideal of their life is concerned, there is only one ideal which appears to me to be worthy of our devotion, and that is the ideal of “Service”. I use the term “Service” in contradistinction to exploitation as an objective of life. Any one who hitches his life to this ideal would find the fulfilment of his ambition in utilizing, to the utmost extent, his talents, capacities and energies for the enrichment of social life and the rendering of service to the community in appropriate ways. Anyone who rejects this ideal does seek the fulfilment of his life in trying to exploit others to gain his own petty and selfish ends through the usurpation of their rights and privileges.

2. Of the attitude which youth should adopt in the time of war and peace, it may be said that war is always unholy except when it is waged in the

service of the ends of social justice.

3. In defining the attitude of youth towards the motherland and the world, one has to remember that there is no doctrine which has done greater harm to the world than the doctrines of narrow nationalism, narrow patriotism and racialism. While there can be no doubt that a proper appreciation of the cultural values, traditions and contributions of one's own country is one of the most important objectives of a sound system of education, it is obvious that an attempt to subordinate the broader demands and values of human solidarity to any narrow end is fraught with grave danger. While the development of scientific technique and the multiplication of means of communication have knit the world into an integral unity, the social and moral outlook of the present generation continues to be mediaeval, if not worse. Unless one can bring about an adjustment between the technical advances made by our civilisation and the minds and the emotions of the people who direct this civilisation, it would be impossible to check the suicidal tendencies which have been generated by the present situation.

S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.A. (CENTRAL)

[Mayor of Madras]

I have no doubt in my own mind that the duties of students consist first in their doing well in their classes and passing their examinations with distinction both at the college and at the university. Secondly, their duty is to observe Bramacharya in conserving their physical, moral and intellectual strength. Thirdly, they have got to cultivate their emotions by doing social service of some kind or other. They owe it to themselves and their country to forget their caste, their class and their province and learn to think, speak and act in terms of Indians first and Indians last. I have no doubt that students of today are going to be the citizens of a free India tomorrow. They must, therefore, so train themselves as to be ready to fulfil their noble part in a free India, worthy of themselves and of their country.

LV

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I have come to the time of my dismissal from life's workshop, barred from further earning. My old age keeps me pensioner to my departed days; I am only allowed to live upon my past achievement. The thoughts that I have thought, the dreams that I have dreamed, gradually matured and came to the season of fruitage, till some of them shrivelled and died and some were ripe for reaping and were garnered.

I began my life of thinking and aspiration when the world in some of its aspects and temperaments was different from what it is today. It was the fresh period of a dew-washed dawn the horizon radiant with hope and the young adventurers of truth showed no sign of fatigue or wavering on their path of pilgrimage. We had our faith in what we considered as things of permanent value in human life; we believed in a principle of perfection which has its everlasting truth in a divine personal-

ity having an innermost bond of relationship with human spirit. I know that the sceptic age we are passing through is busily digging at the root of all things, developing a belief that the dead soil is the original source and not any mysterious life working within an invisible seed; that the ultimate meaning of man is the animal and spirit is matter. But we must be certain that an age of spiritual nihilism such as the present one, can never be lasting, that it is like the sun under eclipse carrying for the moment a sweeping shadow of doubt across its eternal normalcy of light.

Today I am here to repeat what I have said before on different occasions, for I believe that by repeating we truly respect the ideas that come to us as precious for our own life and joyous as our gifts to others. We dare to repeat ourselves when we are over seventy, for long before this time we ought to have been able to discover what are those finds of ours that dust has not covered and use has not tarnished. I no longer believe in originality that must pose itself new to justify its name. I hope, if I am worthy of the reputation that fortunately has come to me, that I have spoken some words in my life that will bear repetition to my contemporaries and to listeners who will represent the future.

At the same time keep in your mind that the thoughts that do not become frayed by constant handling, that do not tire us to insensitiveness are simple, they are ashamed to play acrobatic feats of cleverness. In other words they are not like the supercilious rockets that dare to make faces at the stars and only contribute ashes to the dust. But they are like our house lamp with its eternal mystery of beneficent light tenderly watchful, made all the dearer by its daily familiarity.

Though I have confessed that I began my youth in a comparatively remoter past from that of yours, do not imagine that I dwelt in a time of dilapidated desolateness, that I am no longer modern. Old age has not its reliable witness in any back number of calendar but in the stagnation of spirit that disclaims its own future. It is cynicism even of the most modern make which is truly senile, for it has lost its vision of the beyond, the deeper meaning of existence. The cleverness which is up-to-date seems to exult when proclaiming that the doctrine of spirit has grown obsolete and our present-day education only relies upon external forces and material foundations. But I say over and over again that the impertinence of material dominion is extremely old; the revelation of spirit in Man is

ever modern though born of an immemorial past. Occasionally it has its time of silence, it disappears from our view, so that its price has to be paid for winning it back. And a poet's mission is to attract the voice which is yet inaudible in the air, to inspire faith in the dream which is unfulfilled to bring the earliest tidings of the unborn flower to a doubting world.

So many are there today who do not believe. They do not know that faith in a great future itself creates that future; that without faith you cannot recognize your opportunities. Prudent men and unbelievers have too often pulled down the shelters of man but it is the eternal child, the dreamer, the man of simple faith, who has built up civilization. This creative genius as you will see in your own past history, had faith which acknowledged no limits and dared danger and death for the sake of immortality.

I have often been asked for messages and it ever troubles me. It is like asking the tree to talk and bird to lecture. As a poet it is for me only to maintain my instinct of happiness even when the gloom is on the sky and the land; the pulsation of light throbs in my own pulse when it vibrates in the unseen depth of the dark. I am here to offer

you that unreasoning joy of mine and a hope for life's renewal which thrills in the roots of our being when the spring unloosens the coils of the winter before we come to know it.

Permit me, rather, to share your hope in the stirring of life over this land and I shall join in your rejoicing. I am not a philosopher, therefore keep for me room in your heart, not a seat on the public platform. I want to win your trust and love now that I am close to you with the faith that is in me of a fruitful future, when your country rises and gives expression to its own spirit, a future in the glory of which we shall all share.

I hope that some profound dreamer will spring from your midst to sing a psalm of life everlasting and all-embracing love, and, therewith overcoming all differences bridge the chasm of passions which has been widening for centuries. Age after age, in Asia great souls have heartened the world with shower of grace and immense assurance. Asia is again waiting for such world spirits to come and carry on the work not of fighting, not of profit-making but of interlinking bonds of human relationship.

Intently I hope that the time is at hand when we shall once again be proud to belong to a con-

tinent which produces the light that radiates through the storm-clouds of trouble and illuminates life's pilgrim's path.

The organized power of the machine is ready to smite and devour us, from which we must be rescued by that living power of spirit which grows strength, not through mere addition, but through comprehension. It is right that we should borrow science from the West, her treasure of intellect, which is immense and whose superiority we must acknowledge. But it would be degradation on our part, and an insult to our ancestors, if we forget our own wealth of wisdom, which is of far greater value than system that produces endless materials and a physical power that is always on the war path.

For the last century and a half, the cultured nations of the earth are rapidly giving up their faith in a spiritual perfection of life. Their doom is upon them, and it is daily growing evident that the terrific glow we see upon the Western horizon is not the glow of sunrise, or of a new birth-fire, but is a conflagration of passion. Of that, only those who have lost their mind gazing at the sudden eruption of a flaming success, can be enamoured, as the victim is enamoured of the glittering serpent's eyes.

I say emphatically that we must accept truth when it comes from the West and not hesitate to render it our tribute of admiration. Unless we accept it our civilization will be onesided, it will remain stagnant. Science gives us the power of reason, enabling us to be actively conscious of the worth of our own ideals.

We have been in need of this discovery to lead us out of the obscurity of dead habit, and for that we must turn to the living mind of the West with gratefulness, never encouraging the cultivation of hatred against her. Moreover, the Western people also need our help, for our destinies are now intertwined.

No one nation today can progress, if the others are left outside its boundaries. Let us try to win recognition from the West with all that is best and not base in us, and think of her and deal with her, not in revenge or contempt, but with goodwill and understanding, in a spirit of mutual respect.

There was a time when Asia saved the world from barbarism. Then came the night. I do not know how. And when we were aroused from our stupor by the knocking at our gate, we were not prepared to receive Europe who came to us in her pride of strength and intellect. The West came,

not to give of its best, or to seek for our best, but heartlessly to exploit us for the sake of material gain. And Europe overcame Asia not through our admiration of her freedom's message and service of humanity but overpowering greed and the racial pride that humiliates. We did Europe injustice because we did not meet her on equal terms. The result was the relationship of the superior and the inferior; and since then we have been imagining that we are destitute. We are suffering from want of self-confidence. We are not aware of our own treasures. Let us free ourselves from the meshes of self abasement, the most deadly of all impositions from the West. Let us prove that we are not beggars. This is our responsibility. Recover from your own home things that are of undying worth. Then you will be saved and will be able to save all humanity. Some of us, of the East, think that we should ever imitate the West. I do not believe in it. For imitation belongs to the dead mould; life imitates, it assimilates. What the West has produced is for the West, being native to it. But we of the East cannot borrow the Western mind nor the Western temperament. We want to master the idiom which belongs to our own genius. The river bed which naturally

carries our own thought streams to the ocean of world culture.

You who are young do not need any props of text-book maxims, or pruning books of prohibition, for the guidance of your conscience. Your soul has its natural star which carries hope for the unborn day of your country's future. I am here to sing the hymn of praise to youth, I who am your poet, the poet of the young.

You know that fairy-tale—the eternal story of youth—which is current in almost all parts of the world. It is about the beautiful princess taken captive by some cruel giant and the young prince who goes out to free her from the dungeon. Do you not remember when you heard it in your boyhood, how your blood was stirred, how you felt yourselves setting out in the guise of that prince to rescue her back to freedom? Today the human soul is lying captive in the dungeon of Giant Machine, and I ask you, my young princes, to light up the fire of enthusiasm in your hearts and rush to rescue the human soul from the tyranny of the relentless greed which keeps it chained.

There are some people, who are proud and wise and practical who say that it is not in human nature to be generous, that men will always fight one an-

other, that the strong will conquer the weak, that there can be no real moral foundation for man's civilization. We cannot deny the facts of their assertion; the strong have power in the human world but I refuse to accept this as a revelation of truth.

I bring to your mind those early days, when nature produced huge monsters. Whoever in those days could dare to believe that they were doomed to perish under their enormity of flesh?

Then happened a miracle. All of a sudden, in the midst of that orgy of bigness and gigantic strength, appeared Man, without weapons and without protection, naked, small and tender of skin. He discovered the full power of his intellect and stood up against the might of muscle with weapons shaped by his mind, and he held his own and survived.

But the true victory of man's life was not fulfilled even then. For today his descendants, half brute and half man, have risen up all over the world in terrible form, more devastating even than those prehistoric monsters who at their worst, were frankly physical. This combination of brute and intellect has given rise to a terror which is stupid in its passion and yet cunning in its weapons; it is blindness made efficient, and, therefore, more des-

tructive than all other forces in the world.

We in the East had once tried our best to muzzle the brute in man and to control its ferocity. But today the titanic forces of intellect have overwhelmed our belief in the supremacy of spiritual power. Power in the animal was, at least, in harmony with life, but not so are bombs, poison gases, and murderous aeroplanes, the death-dealing weapons supplied by science.

We should know this, that truth—any truth that man acquires, is for all. Money and property to a limited extent belong to individuals, but you must never allow to slave for your personal aggrandisement, which means selling God's blessings to make profit. Science also is truth. It has its own place, in the healing of the sick, in the giving of more food, more leisure for life. But when with its help its votaries crush the weak, rob those who are asleep, exploit nature for impious ends then this sacrilege of theirs will produce punishment and their own weapons will be turned against them, the signs of which are numerous today.

The great human societies are the creation not of profiteers neither of the scientists but of dreamers. It is not Carthage which lives through ages but Athens does. The millionaires who pro-

duce their bales of merchandise in outrageous quantities, have never built an altar to the eternal spirit of perfection. Today it is they who are about to destroy the temples that others have built driving the spiritual man to ragged vagabondage.

My young friends, I gaze across the distance of age at your young faces, beaming with intelligence and eager interest. I am approaching the shore of the sunset land. You stand over there with the rising sun. My heart reaches out to your hearts and blesses them.

I envy you. When I was a boy, in the dusk of the waning night, we did not fully know to what a great age we had been born. The meaning of that age has become clear today. I believe there are individuals all over the world this moment who have heard its call.

What a delight it may be for you, and what a responsibility this belonging to a period which is one of the greatest in the whole history of man, when, all races have come close to each other. We realise the immense significance of this age dimly, in the light of a glowing fire of pain, and do not even fully know what form it is going to take.

The seeds, in which life remains self-contained does not reveal its complete truth. Even

when the sheath bursts, it is not known what in shape its life will manifest itself, what fruit the branches will bear.

In human history, the forces of creation oftenest work in the dark but it is the privilege of man to give them direction, and thus to take part in the unfoldment of his own destiny. The sheath of the present age has burst. It lies in you, in each one of you, to give this new-born life the impulse of growth.

I ask you again what have you got, what out of your own house can you offer in homage to this new age? You must answer this question. Do you know your own mind? Your own culture? What is best and most permanent in your own history? You must at least know that before you can save yourselves from the greatest of insults, the insult of obscurity, of rejection, bring out your light and add it to this great festival of lamps in world illumination.

I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that any nation on this earth can be great and yet be materialistic. I have a belief that no people in Asia can be wholly given to materialism. There is something in the blue expanse of its sky, in the radiance of its sun, in the silent depth of its night,

in the varied richness of its seasons, which somehow gives to us an understanding of the inner music of existence, and I am sure you are not deaf to it.

To be able to love material things, to clothe them with tender grace, and yet not be grossly attached to them, this is a great achievement. Providence expects that we should make this world our own, and not live in it as though it were a rented tenement. We can only make it our own by some service, and that service is to lend it love and beauty from our soul. From your own experience you can see the difference between the beautiful, the tender, the hospitable, and the mechanically neat and monotonously useful.

Gross utility kills beauty. We have now all over the world a huge production of things, huge organizations, huge administrations of empire, obstructing the path of life. Civilization is waiting for a great consummation, for an expression of its soul in beauty. This must be our contribution to the world.

Deformity has already made its bid in your markets, it is fast encroaching upon the region of your heart. If you accept it as your permanent guest, and thus do violence to yourselves, then

indeed in a generation or two, you will kill this great gift. What will remain? What will you offer humanity in return for your privilege to exist?

You say, "We must make progress." Should there remain for ever a gulf between progress and perfection? If you can make them one in beauty, you will reach the ultimate goal of reality.

It is your mission to prove that love for the earth, and for the things of the earth is possible without materialism, love without the vulgarity of avarice.

Let us develop the instinct that can grasp the secret of the rhythm of things, not merely the secret of power which is in science, but the secret of expression. This is the divine secret which is ever taming the wild forces that are mere monstrous facts of the universe having no inner significance of truth.

I am tired and old. With all my heart I take this occasion to entreat you not to be turned away by the call of vulgar strength, of stupendous size, by the spirit of storage, by the multiplication of millions, without meaning and without end.

Cherish the ideal of perfection, and to that, relate all your work, all your movements. Then

though you love the material things of earth,
they will not hurt you and you will bring heaven
to earth and soul into things.

LVI

EDWARD THOMPSON

I hope that Indian students will carry on their nation's great traditions of magnanimity of generous readiness to forget injustice received in former days. In this respect, I think no nation has ever surpassed the Indian people. Their patience and power of forgiveness are wonderful. As to the immediate future, their first duty seems to me to be the healing of their internal dissensions. It is an impossible solution to say, as some do, that India consists of two opposed nations, and that in every province, every town, every village, Hindu and Muslim must always confront each other. A nation that has in recent days produced men as different from each other, and yet as great, when judged by any standard, as Mohammad Iqbal, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mahatma Gandhi, cannot accept this doctrine of two mutually hostile nations in one land. Each of these men, while a

true son of his community, has been also a son of All India and in his life and mind are shown qualities that testify to the influence of other communities and other cultures. This war of Hindu and Muslim against each other is more responsible than any other factor for the slowness of India's progress towards full nationhood and full self-government.

LVII

A. V. THAKKAR

[*General Secretary, All India Harijan
Sevak Sangh, Delhi*]

I place before the youth of the country four simple suggestions, and they are (1) Swadeshi, (2) Social Service, (3) Literacy Campaign and (4) Study of political and economic problems. These are indeed much talked of and common, but very little attended to. They may not appeal to the ultrarationalist young people, because they possess no novelty about them. But I believe they offer us a solution to many of our social evils and contribute to the promotion of love, good-will and efficiency in the social organisation. They also can utilise the energy of the youth for a nation-building purposes and can offer peace to the disillusioned youth, who are puzzled and worried by conflicting ideologies that seem to bring us nearer to the millennium but actually take us nowhere.

The cult of Swadeshi is not narrow-minded

nationalism that is manifesting itself prominently in some of the countries of both the East and the West. I feel that one of the causes of modern aggressive movements is the attempt of some powerful nations to ruin directly or indirectly the economic structure of other nations by evil competition. If each nation tries to be content with self-sufficiency and not go in for dumping of goods on others, we will be establishing a sound base for the superstructure of international peace. I think we all agree that economic imperialism and economic domination are the chief causes of modern warfare. So, I would ask our young men and young women to take to the practice of the cult of Swadeshi in right earnest and promote the economic interests of the country. The Charkha old-fashioned as it is, can solve many of our economic problems. So spinning and weaving should be taken up by all students. Basic industries like hand-made paper industry and cottage industries like bee-keeping and tanning and shoe making should be studied and practised.

The intelligentsia of the country receives high education at great expense to the state, whose resources come largely from poor peasants and such others. So, the educated youth owe a duty to the

society at large in return for the education they receive. A spirit of service and a high moral sense of duty should be cultivated by the youth. Whether in government service or in private avocations, the youth should feel that they are part and parcel of a big human society and that every act of theirs should be conducive to the common good of the society and not merely to individual interests. I would earnestly ask the young people to do social service work in their leisure hours and thus come into touch with poor people.

An urgently needed nation-building activity is the "Literacy-Campaign". It is the bounden duty of the educated people to see that the large mass of illiterate people of the country are given the benefits of at least primary education. In our country, hardly 12% of the population is literate and illiteracy is much more among women than among men. Literacy promotes the efficiency of the working class population and thus leads to more skilled labour, in which we are lacking now. Education gives people confidence and courage and stimulates thinking and reason.

My fourth suggestion to our youth is that they should take pains to study carefully both the economic and political problems and thus furnish

their minds with all useful information. They should consider this part of their life as a preparatory ground and so should concentrate on study. They should avoid taking part in politics, specially in party-politics, and politics of the propagandist type. The youthful impulses should be controlled and made to serve good purposes.

Last, but not least, I would emphasize on our youth aspiring to live nobly by cultivating sturdy qualities of head and heart and following in the foot-steps of the illustrious sons and daughters of Mother India.

LVIII

TAN YUN-SHAN

*[Director of Cheena-Bhavan and Chief Organizer,
Sino-Indian Cultural Society, Santiniketan, India]*

Students are beams of the society and pillars of the nation.

The students of India have a great part to play not only in rebuilding a new country of their own but also reshaping a new order of things in the whole world. It is rather difficult for me to give you an advice as to what you should and what you should not do. Fortunately you have almost in every field of life great and wise men—Mahatma Gandhi, Gurudeva Tagore, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—who represent religion, culture and sane politics and who are the best leaders for the youth of India to follow.

But may I tell you simply the painful experience of my own country which has along with India elaborated the world's oldest civilization? We in China were once dogged by the glamour of the

mushroom civilizations of the so-called modern world. For the last few decades especially during the last one, China has been groping around for firm foothold and had been learning all kinds of theories and accepting all kinds of new methods. It had discussed many principles and applied all new terms, had shouted various slogans and used different weapons. All this, however, had resulted in nothing hopeful. But now a deep and nation-wide heart-searching is gradually rekindling our faith in our own things. I, therefore, hope that you students of India today will think thrice before you adopt any ideal imported from a foreign land for your country's uplift. And I must also seriously warn you against slavishly following ideals that are not your own. You may like socialism or communism, but the type of socialism or communism you adopt must be suited to Indian conditions. You may like to have a Stalin or a Hitler or a Mussolini for rejuvenating your country, but the dictator you should follow must be some one peculiarly Indian. After all, you must stand on your own legs, have roots in your own soil and adjust yourselves according to your native circumstances. You must understand your own history and the sublime culture which can hardly find

a parallel in the so-called modern countries of the world.

More, if I may say, you must always think of your own country as a whole and in terms of communities and provinces; you must get rid of the communal controversies, religious conflicts, caste disputes and all other selfish contentions either political or economic or social. Such discords will not only harm the great common cause of your country but will also injure your own selves. Organise, train, and discipline yourselves well both physically and mentally; unite the country and harmonise the whole nation, for without unity and harmonization you will hardly be able to achieve anything towards freedom; and join all classes and communities, working hand in hand, marching side by side. I am sure there is a great future for India of tomorrow.

In conclusion I may quote a verse from your own Sanskrit literature:

“Tyajet ekam kulasyarthe
gramasyarthe kulam tyajet.
Gramam janapadasyarthe
Atmarthe prithivim tyajet”

“For the sake of a family a member (of the

family) should be sacrificed; for a village the family; for a country the village and for the sake of the Supreme One the whole world should be sacrificed.

LIX

MADAME SOPHIA WADIA

[*Secretary, Indian Centre P. E. N. Bombay*]

In response to the request of Kunwar Madhavendra P. N. Singh for a few lines of "advice" for an anthology which he is preparing for the student-world of India we have time and space to present only a few of our views, and those most briefly in mere outline form.

The first fact which the Indian student should clearly perceive is that Occidental civilization has failed and is fast collapsing. What is noble and strong in Western culture has been rejected by the West; the peoples of Europe have not lived, individually or nationally, according to the teachings of Pythagoras, Plato or Jesus, they have not responded to the noble appeals of a Shelley, a Lamartine or a Goethe. Exploitation of the weak at home and abroad, industrialism which spreads poverty among the many and confines wealth to a few, cant and hypocrisy by which the social order has been

maintained in London, Paris, Berlin, etc.—these have been the dark soul of Europe. The nemesis has now overtaken that continent. If the Indian youths of today do not see this most clearly they will injure our India, ancient and honourable, with a history the like of which is not to be found elsewhere.

The second fact which the Indian student should recognize is that modern India suffers from religious orthodoxies, from social weaknesses, from moral inefficiency: India's political subjugation now continues because of the divisions which prevail in our midst. Political provincialism, communal disunion, racial animosity and religious feuds disgrace our great traditions and the leaders of tomorrow should educate themselves today in the Art of Unity.

If a religious creed claims superiority and makes itself a channel for strife, the students ought to throw that creed out of their lives; *e.g.*, if a Christian or a Muslim youth intends to serve the Motherland, let him not permit religious bigotry to disfigure his life; let him cast out of his heart any belief which does not conform to the truth of the Brotherhood of Religions; no creed is superior to other faiths and those, like church missionaries

or orthodox Sanatanists or like some bigoted Rabbis or Maulanas who attempt to foster that spirit, ought to be regarded as enemies not of India only but of humanity as a whole. Religious bigotry and communal conceits poison life and create hellish confusion.

Similarly, provincial jealousies and rivalries cause great mischief and Indian youth can and should set its face against provincialism. It is not difficult to give it a death-blow. India is one and indivisible, the Himalayas belong to us all, so do the Indian rivers and lakes. Our students ought to educate themselves in the literary and artistic cultures of the different provinces so that they may know for themselves the binding forces which knit our provinces into a single whole. To this end, the unification of India through Her literatures, we are editing *The Indian P. E. N.* and those who are interested are requested to read it.

Political nationalism should *not* become the religion of the youth of India. The era of nationalism is coming to a close. The War of 1914-18 showed this. But the triumph-intoxicated Europeans failed to perceive it and in trying to continue effete nationalism have brought on themselves added troubles and trials. India must remain

Indian, not to compete against other countries, but to co-operate with all, so that peace and prosperity may reign everywhere.

Each nation, great or small, each state, large or limited, has its contribution to make. Not in ambition and in rivalry but in unselfishness and co-operation to enrich the culture of Humanity, should nations and states labour and here in India we have an excellent opportunity to show this. For this purpose we publish every month *The Aryan Path* which every student ought to peruse.

On our sacred soil Christians, Hindus, Jains, Muslims, Parsis, all live, but they *are* all Indians and uniting in harmony by living according to the Truths taught by Jesus, Krishna, Mahavir, Muhammad, Zoroaster, we shall be able to restore to India her past glory and more—we shall be able to pass on Her message of peace and of spiritual prosperity to all the world. Not in irreligion, but through *living* religion can this be accomplished.

We have a unique opportunity because there lives in our midst a man of vision, the great-souled Gandhiji, who embodies our inheritance and whose precepts and example we all need to follow. That following, however, must be intelligent, arising not out of the blindness of ignorance but of the

light of knowledge. What is essential is that we all study what he has said and written. Such a study will show the way of true religion to the youth, to him who is growing into the citizen of the oldest living country of the world, and of whose tradition he is the fortunate heir.

LX

THE MOST REV. FOSS WESTCOTT

[*The Metropolitan of India, Calcutta*]

You have pressed me to give you an answer to your request that I should state what I think should be the aim and ideals of students in this present time of crisis. I will therefore briefly state what I believe it is essential that all whether young or old should realise if there is to be peace in this world of God's creation which is intended to be the training ground of mankind.

It is a world richly endowed with countless materials and forces which may be a means of blessing or destruction to men. But before they can be available for use at all, he must discover their nature and the condition upon which they can be used. Unless this study results in the discovery of these things they must remain useless to men. We speak of these so called "Laws of Nature" and know that obedience to them is the *sine qua non* of their use. But more than this is

necessary if they are to be rightly used and prove a blessing and not a curse. Their use must be governed by moral principles which are summed up in the two great commandments, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and all thy soul and all thy mind and all thy strength, and thy neighbours 'as thyself'". Absolute devotion to God and submission to His control is the primary condition of right living in this His world. He has promised us the guidance of His spirit that we may learn His will, and it may be ours if we will seek it.

We must also love our neighbours as ourselves. All with whom we are brought into any kind of contact are our neighbours, and love is more than a mere sentiment, it is the will to service. Only on obedience to these laws can we look for peace in this world. It means the rejection of selfishness and the regarding of the welfare of others as important as our own, and the effort to secure it as worth all the sacrifice it may entail.

APPENDIX

(१)

श्री मैथिलीशरण गुप्त*

साहित्य-सदन, चिरगाँव, भाँसी

पीछे पितर पृष्ठ-पोषक हूँ, पर भविष्य तो आगे,
यदि अपना परिणाम न देखें, तो हम अन्ध अभागे ।
वर्तमान, यह आयोजन है निज भावी-जीवन का,
कुछ अतीत-संकेत मिले तो अधिक लाभ वह जन का ॥

वह अतीत पुरखों का युग था, उसका क्या कहना है ?
सुनो, किन्तु अपने ही युग में हम सबको रहना है ।
जन्मे हैं हम उसी भूमि पर उसी वायु मंडल में,
पर आगे की ओर हमारी वृद्धि-सिद्धि पल पल में ॥

भिन्नाहार, विहार उचित ही समय-समय के सारे,
समय-समय की बुद्धि भिन्न है, भिन्न विचार हमारे ।
समयाचार विभिन्न, भिन्न हैं युग धर्मों की धृतियाँ,
आकृति-प्रकृति विभिन्न समय की, भिन्न क्यों न हों कृतियाँ ?

अपने युग को हीन समझना, आत्म-हीनता होगी,
सजग रहो, इससे दुर्बलता और दीनता होगी ।
जिस युग में हम हुए, वही तो अपने लिए बड़ा है,
अहा ! हमारे आगे कितना कर्म-क्षेत्र पड़ा है ॥

* Cf. page 87

जीर्ण वस्तुओं की ममता से घर ही घड़ा होगा,
 अहा ! आज का कुसुम-हार भी कल का कूड़ा होगा ।
 यदि मानस गोमुखी हमारी निरवधि नहीं भड़ेगी,
 तो गतों में ही जीवन की धारा पड़ी सड़ेगी ॥

विगत हुआ तो विगतों का युग, अपना तो प्रस्तुत है,
 कितना नव्य-भव्य तुम देखो, यह अपूर्व अद्भुत है !
 नए नए अध्याय खुले हैं, नए पाठ हैं कितने,
 कैसे काट-छाँट के कौशल, और ठाट हैं कितने !!

अन्तरिक्ष के नहीं किन्तु हम उस वसुधा के वासी,
 जिसके सरस गन्ध, गुण के हैं आप अमर आश्वासी ।
 यही हमारी प्रमुख देवता, कभी न भूलो इसको,
 कहो दूसरा देव कौन है, आहुति दें हम जिसको ?

निरुत्साह से साहस शुभ है, जीवन एक समर है,
 भव भंगुर है, रहे, किन्तु यह आत्मा आप अमर है ।
 बिगड़ गया यदि यही लोक तो क्या परलोक बनेगा ?
 कहाँ जायँगे नारायण भी जब नरलोक बनेगा ?

यदि हार्दिक प्रस्ताव बुद्धि का अनुमोदन पा जावे,
 और समर्थक रहें प्राण, तो कौन विरोधी ? आवे ।
 करने में तो मरने में भी है कल्याण स्वयं ही,
 लौटो न तुम प्रमाण खोजने, बनो प्रमाण स्वयं ही ॥

आदर्शों की पूजा से ही पार नहीं पाओगे,
 नहीं आप उनकी पद्धति पर जब तक तुम जाओगे ।
 मन में, वाणी में आकर ही धर्म न पूरा होगा,
 किए बिना कोई भी अपना कर्म न पूरा होगा ॥

वह महान् जो मार्ग दिखावे सबको ऊँचे चढ़ कर,
कीर्ति छोड़ कर्तव्य करे जो, वह उससे भी बढ़ कर ।
जो नीरव निज धरम निबाहे वही परम त्यागी है,
रहे अजाना सबका, प्रभु का माना बढ़ भागी है ॥

मनुष्यत्व जन में ही रहता, नहीं विशाल भवन में,
वह भी क्या दुर्लभ है तुमको, जो तुम चाहो मन में ।
रही चुनौती आज हमारी अधिक क्या कहूँ यमको,
नई सृष्टि के लिए प्रलय भी प्रेक्षणीय हो हमको ॥

जितने कष्ट कंटकों में हैं,
जिनका जीवन-सुमन खिला ।
गौरव-गन्ध उन्हें उतना ही,
अत्र तत्र सर्वत्र मिला ॥

(२)

श्री काका कालेलकर*

वर्धा

पिछले योरोपीय महायुद्ध के दिनों में महात्मा जी भारतवर्ष लौटे और उन्होंने इस देश में अपना कार्य किया । उनके लिखे हुए लेख, उनके चलाए हुए सत्याग्रह, उनकी स्थापित की हुई संस्थाएँ, किए हुए प्रयोग, और भारत के अन्यान्य लोगों को दी हुई प्रेरणा, सब कुछ अद्भुत हैं । किसी प्रकार की अतिशयोक्ति बिना हम कह सकते हैं कि पिछले दस हजार वर्ष के इतिहास में ऐसा कोई आदमी इस देश में पैदा नहीं हुआ है, जिसने गाँधीजी के जितना स्वदेश का दर्शन किया हो, भारत की सब की सब समस्याओं का विचार करके हल सुझाया हो, और जिसने तीन हजार वर्ष के लिए भविष्य का मार्ग देखकर उसकी ओर इतना निश्चित संकेत किया हो ।

ऐसे अद्भुत प्रतापशाली, और प्रतिभावान् राष्ट्र पुरुष की जीवनी उसके अन्यान्य पहलू, उसके लिखे हुए लेख और चलाई हुई संस्थाओं का इतिहास भारत के नवयुवक अगर नहीं पढ़ेंगे तो वे अपने को न तो भारत-वासी कह सकते हैं और न अपने को गाँधीजी के समकालीन कह सकते हैं ।

भारत के नवयुवक गाँधीजी के इन सिद्धान्तों को मानें या न मानें उनके प्रयोगों को अपनावें या न अपनावें किन्तु उनका अध्ययन तो अवश्य करें । मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे देश के लोगों में समकालीन इतिहास पढ़ने की

* Cf. page III

वृत्ति कम है। अखबारों के बाहर वे जाते ही नहीं। भारत की संस्थाओं का राष्ट्रीय उत्थान की दृष्टि से और समाज-मानस परिवर्तन की दृष्टि से वे अध्ययन नहीं करते। लेनिन, स्टेलिन, मुसोलिनी, हिटलर इनके जीवन-चरित्र उनके सिद्धान्त और कार्य-पद्धति का साहित्य वे अवश्य पढ़ते हैं, क्योंकि इन बातों में अंगरेजी साहित्य काफ़ी मिल सकता है और इनमें मौलिक गवेषणा की आवश्यकता नहीं रहती है।

भारत के युवकों को ग्रन्थ-परायण न रह कर अन्वेषण-परायण और चिन्तन-परायण बनना चाहिए। तभी उनकी बुद्धि का विकास होगा। और उन्हें पुरुषार्थ का रास्ता मिलेगा।

(३)

श्री किशोर लाल मशरूवाला*

वर्धा

जब एक देश या समाज का अभ्युदय नज़दीक आता है, तब उसके लोगों में कई तरह की सुबुद्धियाँ पैदा होती हैं। इसके विपरीत जब उसका पतन-काल आता है, तब कई तरह की कुबुद्धियाँ उत्पन्न होती हैं। मिसाल की तौर पर इन सुबुद्धियों के कुछ स्वरूप देता हूँ :—

(१) सादगी और संयम पर श्रद्धा बढ़ना। भोग-विलास, व्यसन, स्वच्छंद स्वैराचार आदि की अरुचि होना। विलासी-जीवन की अपेक्षा सादे और संयमी-जीवन तथा जनहित के लिए कष्ट-सहन में ज़्यादा आनन्द मालूम होना। इन्हीं को सम्पादित करने वाले साधनों की खोज में लगे रहना।

(२) मानव-मानव और समाज-समाज के बीच पड़े हुए भेदों को मिटाने या उनके बीच समाधान का रास्ता लेने की प्रवृत्ति पैदा होना। उन भेदों को बढ़ाने और संघर्ष पैदा करने वाली प्रवृत्ति पर घृणा होना।

(३) अधिकार, पैसा, जोर, जवानी, कला, ज्ञान वगैरह की व्यक्तिगत विशेषताओं का अपने लोगों की सेवा के लिए उपयोग करने का हौसला बढ़ना। ज्ञान विशेषताओं द्वारा अपना एक अलग गुट बनाने, और जिनसे अपना मत-भेद हो उन्हें तंग करने, तथा परस्पर एक दूसरे से झगड़ने वाले छोटे छोटे राजा, गुरु, नेता आदि बने रहने की बजाय अपने निजी स्वार्थों और

* Cf. page 122

महत्वाकांक्षाओं का त्याग कर सब जनता के साथ चलने की चेष्टा होना ।

(४) न अपनी ही बुद्धि और पुरुषार्थ का गर्व होना, और न तो अपने लिए आत्म-विश्वास का अत्यन्त अभाव होना । इस तरह न अन्ध-विश्वास होना और न श्रद्धा का अभाव होना ।

(५) राजकीय, सामाजिक, धार्मिक सभाओं में दिल-चस्पी के साथ एक होकर सार्वजनिक हित के प्रश्नों पर निःस्वार्थ-भाव से विचार-विनिमय करना । उसमें जब इकट्ठे हों और जब विसर्जित हों, तब तक एकसा मेल जोल रखना उसके निर्णयों का निष्ठापूर्वक पालन करने और अपनी अपनी जवाबदारी (जिम्मेदारी) अच्छी तरह अदा करने का खयाल होना । उसके निर्णयों और नियमों के मनमानी अर्थ न करते हुए, शुद्ध अर्थ ही लगाना ।

(६) अपने समाज के वृद्ध, सयाने और सदाचारी राजनीतिज्ञ, धर्मज्ञ तथा शूरों की इज्जत करना और उनकी बार बार सलाह लेना ।

(७) स्त्रियों के प्रति इज्जत के साथ बर्ताव होना । उनकी इज्जत और आरोग्य की रक्षा करना । उनकी मारपीट, अत्याचार, निन्दा, गाली-गलौज न करना ।

(८) बच्चों की सुशिक्षा के लिए प्रबन्ध, और उनके साथ प्रेम और अदब से बर्ताव होना । उनकी ओर देश के भावी-भाग्यविधाताओं की दृष्टि से देखना ।

(९) सदाचार पर श्रद्धा और चरित्रवान् तथा विद्वान् सत्पुरुषों के सहवास में रुचि होना । परदेश के ऐसे सज्जनों को बुला तथा उनका सम्मान कर लाभ उठाना ।

(१०) धन और स्त्री के विषय में बहुत ही शुद्धशील होना ।

(११) देश की कठिन समस्याओं का फ़ैसला युद्ध, डण्डेबाजी, दंगे आदि साधनों द्वारा नहीं, बल्कि विचार-विनिमय, समझौता, पंच आदि द्वारा लाने की प्रवृत्ति होना ।

(१२) जीवन और जगत के मूलभूत सत्य की खोज में भक्ति होना ।

(४)

रावराजा डा० श्यामविहारी मिश्र*

मिश्र-भवन, लखनऊ

(१) विद्यार्थियों का सबसे बड़ा कर्तव्य मेरी समझ में विद्या-लाभ और तदर्थ पूर्ण परिश्रम करना है। अन्य काम उसके पीछे और विश्राम एवं अवसर आने पर ही करना चाहिए; पठन-पाठन की विशेष हानि कर के उन्हें करना विद्यार्थियों के लिए भूल है; उनके लिए विद्या-लाभ के पश्चात् समय आवेगा।

(२) ऊपर के विचार ध्यान में रखते हुए नवीन परिस्थितियों का सामना करना उचित प्रतीत होता है। असाधारण अवसरों पर दो एक दिन के लिए यदि पठन-पाठन के स्थगित करने की विशेष आवश्यकता प्रतीत हो तो विचार पूर्वक ऐसा करना भी कई अंशों तक उचित माना जा सकता है। यदि कोई अत्यन्त विशेष अवसर उपस्थित हो जाय तो अपने मान्य गुरुजनों अथवा शिक्षकों की सम्मति पर चलना अथवा मन-मानी तक कर बैठना ठीक हो सकता है।

(३) युद्ध और शान्ति के अवसरों पर पृथक दृष्टिकोण होना स्वाभाविक है। ऊपर जो सलाह दी गई है वह विशेषतया शान्तिकाल के लिए है। वास्तविक युद्ध के समय स्वयं अपनी, स्वजनों की, तथा यथासम्भव स्वदेशियों की रक्षा करना उचित है, पर स्मरण रहे कि मेरी समझ में

* Cf. page 128

*आजकल के समय को युद्धकाल मान लेना ठीक नहीं।

(४) विद्यार्थियों के लिए “जीवन” का उद्देश्य केवल विद्यालाभ है। जब वह समय समाप्त हो ले तब गृहस्थ धर्म में संलग्न होना चाहिए और यथासम्भव स्वजनों, स्वजाति, एवं स्वदेश के लिए स्वार्थ-त्याग एवं सेवा-मार्ग पर चलना उचित है। ईश्वरकृत जीवों की सेवा करना ही मैं गृहस्थों का परमधर्म मानता हूँ। उसके सामने न उन्हें भक्ति-मार्ग की आवश्यकता है और न विशेष पूजा-पाठ की। ५५-६० वर्ष की अवस्था हो जाने पर बानप्रस्थ धर्म ग्रहण करना चाहिए जिसका अर्थ मैं ‘विशेष-स्वार्थ-त्याग’ समझता हूँ। असमर्थ हो जाने पर सब को शुभ सलाह देना तथा भगवत्-भजन में लग जाना उचित है। इन्हीं सब बातों को मैं जीवन का उद्देश्य मानता हूँ।

(५) मातृ-भूमि और पड़ोसियों से सदा सद्व्यवहार ही करना चाहिए। पहली हमारी माता ही ठहरी, और उसके लिए जो कुछ स्वार्थ-त्याग तथा आवश्यकता पड़ जाने पर बलिदान किया जाय वह थोड़ा है। पड़ोसी हमारे भाई हैं और उनका हित करना भी हमारा धर्म है। सभी शास्त्रों का तत्व यह है कि किसी योग्य पुरुष का हित करना पुण्य तथा किसी को बेजा दुख पहुँचाना पाप है।

(६) अन्य गुत्थियों के सुलझाने में भी ऊपर लिखे विचार सदा ही सहायक हो सकते हैं।

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